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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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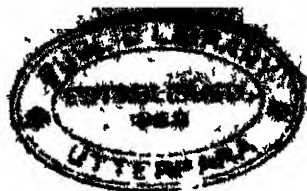
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No. 275—JANUARY 1899.

ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

*Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during
the latter half of the 18th Century.*

INTRODUCTORY.

The state of Hindustan and parts of the Deccan during the 18th century was one of the most terrible ever known in a country with any claim to civilisation. Every province had fallen away from the Imperial throne; some to become independent under usurping satraps, others to pass, Bengal and the Carnatic, into the power of intrusive Europeans. In these latter provinces and a sort of awkward administrations were entering, elsewhere the land was full of the wandering homeless, and the reek of innocent blood. A European, who was an eye witness, lived as in a forest of wild beasts, and owed his safety only to the strength of his own arms. Over and above the miserable villagers by the side of all, the earth continued to be a little cultivated, and there, in each great Denomination, two classes of ruling powers possessed of what, by comparison might, be called education. Among the Hindus were the Pundits, Brahmans remote descended from Aryan forefathers and still retaining some notion of superiority in body and mind; while the leaders of the Muslim opinion were the Moulvis, claiming descent from Arabian ancestors and Sayyids. The military members of either creed were twofold; the Rajpoots and Mahrattas on one side, the Afghans and Pathans on the other. Among these six ranged deadly enmity, each apparently aiming at the extirpation of the other. In such a state of things a great prize appeared before the eyes of able and ambitious leaders: and any advantage that would enable a man to overthrow all opposition was eagerly sought for. Such an advantage seemed within the reach of him when he first observed "with what majesty the British bear fights." If he could obtain the services of a few good European officers, his soldiers, drilled and disciplined like the evil.

white troops, would be as a steel point at the end of a bamboo lance. The supply was not plentiful; but it was not wholly wanting. Younger sons of French families were more ready to wander than they have been since the Revolution; and, sooner or later, a few British, or Indo-British, officers became available. These men cut loopholes in the jungle with their swords, admitting a little air and light.

But the general effect, down to the time when the servants of the Company appeared in Hindustan, is that of hardly-mitigated anarchy; and much the same would, doubtless, arise if anything should occur to cause the disappearance of the employees of the Empire.

The story to be told involves details bearing on the insecurity of order, property and life, the absence of police, the great prevalence of all sorts of crime, the inability of the different persons who professed themselves rulers to collect revenue by ordinary methods or with any attempt at regularity. Hence the agriculturists, besides the general uncertainty of their lives, had to suffer from this further annoyance, that their affairs wavered between times when no revenue was demanded from them, so that they could waste their profits upon Fakirs and fireworks, and other times when the Government sent troops to the villages who took everything on which they could lay hands.

CHAPTER I.

Of all historic world-dramas none has been more enduring than that which presents the secular conflict of Europe and Asia; the tribes of movement and the tribes of repose; the national forces that are static and the national energies that are dynamic. Beginning with the crime and punishment symbolised in the story of Cain, we find kindred races always acting under opposite impulses; and even when (as under the Achæmenids) Asia was the aggressor, Europe always conquered in the long run. This was noticed by Hippokrates, who accounted for it by observing that, while the Greeks fought for their country, the Persians fought only for their king.

This, indeed, was not to be the rule always. Xenophon was a mere leader of mercenaries; Alexander was a marauding despot; Julian and Valerian were unable to prevail. In the Crusades of the middle ages fortune still was variable; and Bajazet overthrew the Christians at Nikopolis with frightful slaughter, though the latter had some amount of patriotism for their support. Under Mahomed II. the Byzantine ramp of the Roman Empire was entirely extirpated, and his successors gained several temporary successes over the Christian armies. Yet, on the whole, the tide was ebbing; the Moors were expelled,

from Spain, the Turks were rolled back from Austria; the European armies everywhere surpassed in skill, science, and cohesion, prevailing over the more numerous, but less disciplined hosts of their opponents, until the conquerors of India found out a solution in setting the ranks of the one under the leadership of the other. With a small head of sharp steel, the long lance has learned to follow.

That the Oriental warrior is by no means bound to be personally inferior to the European in valour or endurance, has been shown in many instances, from the Punjab wars of the middle of the current century to the Frontier campaigns that have marked its close. But other things must be equal before the two can meet on equal terms; so long as the civilised Power has abundant supplies of civilised officers, it will ultimately prevail, even though its foes be ever so numerous, and even though its men be of the same race, wholly or in large part, as those against whom they are to fight. The barbarian, left to the control of his own chiefs, loses confidence and resolution, so that ten men may chase a thousand. In the battle of Plassey (1757) Clive repulsed a regular army, 50,000 strong, horse and foot, with 40 guns, having less than 3,000 men with him, of whom only 800 were white troops; he had no cavalry and only 8 guns. At Delhi, in 1857, a force of 50,000 disciplined troops, with a vast artillery, a 1st class arsenal, and fortifications constructed by our own Engineers, were held at bay by a mixed array of natives and British, of whom there were never 5,000 fit for duty, but who finally stormed their defences and broke their array for good and all.

The complete explanation of this persistent fact may be a matter for discussion; of its existence there can be no doubt. Whether due to climate, or to institutions, the ultimate victory always falls to the men of the West, and amongst immediate causes must be reckoned the inability of Oriental officers to lead. For the most part corrupt and wanting in any cause more noble than their own sordid interests, they fail to inspire in their men that sense of trust in themselves and in each other which gives solidarity to a body of men. The soldiers may be as brave and devoted as the Turkish privates—for example—have always been; but that perfection of discipline must always be lacking which is what we speak of as “the steel lancehead”; the officers bid their men to go on when they ought to be showing them the way.

Necessarily the combination of a nucleus of white soldiers is a further source of cohesion. This was long ago shown—perhaps for the first time at the battle of Cunaxa (B.C. 401)—where the Greeks held their ground and killed more than their own number of the Persian enemy, even though the death of

Cyrus hindered a perfect victory. Though the royal army numbered, it is said, 400,000, the Greeks retired to their camp in good order, and made such terms that their retreat was practically secure. Without guides, they made their way through the snows of Armenia and the harassing Khurds; starved and fevered, they at last reached the shores of the Euxine, having lost only 14 per cent. of their number on the long and perilous march.

Three quarters of a century later, Alexander led a Grecian army to the same regions: but his campaigns only exemplify a portion of our argument. The victories over Darius Codomannus, and over Porus, the Punjab King, were won by a man of high military genius at the head of a considerable army of European veterans; and in such cases there could be little doubt as to the result. But the position of Seleukos, and of the Hellenic rulers who succeeded him in Central Asia, affords a stronger instance of the value of Western character. The Macedonians not only held Syria, but dominated Turkestan and the regions on the Parapomisu^s, for full two hundred years, at one time ruling from the Euphrates to the Indus. Absorbed at last and hemmed in on all sides, they finally disappeared; but not before they had planted Western arts and institutions in Mesopotamia, Khorasan, and Bactria. Gradually, in what manner is not exactly known, they were pressed over the Hindu Kush range by tumultuous movements of Parthian and Scythian hordes, until they finally settled in the hills and plains on the Upper Indus. They even reached the lands between that river and its tributary—now known as the Jhelam—on whose banks Alexander had won his great battle. Here, stretching from Kashmir to Multan, was their last great settlement; and here, without means of communication or re-inforcement from Europe, they became gradually assimilated to the Scytho-Buddhist system before which they had long been drifting. This occurred about the beginning of the Christian era; but was not accompanied by any violent catastrophe and did not cause any sudden destruction of such residue of civilisation as had been up to that time preserved. We are informed by Plutarch—writing in the first century A.D.—that Alexander had “inspired India with the arts of Hellas;” and Aelian, about one hundred years later, recorded that the Persian and Indian Kings amused their leisure with hearing recitations from the poems of Homer. All these temporary successes of the European intellect, attested, as they are, by the evidence of coinage and sculpture, must have been due to the same mental supremacy of which the episode of the Anabasis was a capital, if transient, example in another field.

But, therefore, as these traces may seem, they are interesting signs of influence that only needed more favouring conditions to develop into more enduring action. In the remains of Greek culture still forthcoming in that corner of India—especially in the series of coins, at present incomplete,—we find unquestionable evidence of skill and character asserted in difficult circumstances, and maintaining for a considerable period some of the distinguishing features of European civilisation amidst environments of a discouraging kind. The Indo-Greek Kings assumed the high title of "Basileus," in courts and camps which were long frequented and admired. So long as communications remained open, they were supplied with imported women of their own race ; and, when the last of these kings—by name Menander—became a convert to Buddhism, the colony slowly merged in the surrounding population. But they left their mark in the superscriptions of their Scythian successors, whose coinage for some time retained the Greek language with much of Greek art in the designs. Jupiter passed into Shiva, or Buddha; and Kadphises called himself "Basileus." These obscure, but interesting, phases of history have been put together and set forth, with equal research and eloquence, by Count Goblet d'Alviella, the accomplished Rector of Brussels University (*Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce*, Paris, 1897).

But it is time to turn to matters of more recent actuality. For fifteen centuries after the conversion of Menander, European intercourse with India was sparse and transitory. The Romans traded with what are now Gujarat and Sindh ; traces of decadent art are still found in those regions, and Latin writers refer to commercial intercourse ; but of political or military influences, no trace is forthcoming until the bombardment of Calicut by the ships of the Portuguese under Don Vasco da Gama, in 1501, A. D. Nine years later, Albuquerque had a busy year with the Moslem ruler of Bijapur—Yusef Adil Shah—from whom he finally took Goa in the end of November, 1510 : the city was given up to plunder for three days, the Moslem inhabitants being massacred in cold blood.

This conquest, in its ultimate results, gave to the crown of Portugal a capital, religious, commercial and political, and a territory of more than one thousand square miles, in which was founded a colony somewhat resembling that of the Greeks in the Punjab, only preserved from the same fate ultimately by the accidental support of other nations. During the first century or so of its existence, the settlement enjoyed great apparent prosperity ; during the years of struggle when the British in India were almost hopelessly fighting for existence, "Goa presented a scene of military, ecclesiastical and commercial magnificence which had no parallel. . . The brilliant pomp

and picturesque display were due to the fact that it was not only a flourishing harbour but also the centre of a great power. The Portuguese based their dominion in India on conquest by the sword."—(*Imperial Gazette* V. 101.)

But the foundations of this imposing edifice were defective. Fanaticism and luxury corrupted the colony; every European assumed the airs of an aristocrat, the ladies being shut up in the oriental manner, while the gentlemen went abroad in silk attire, riding with jewelled trappings and stirrups of gilded silver. "Almost every traveller who visited Goa during its prime tells the same curious story regarding the rashness with which the Portuguese matrons pursued their amours . . . And the Goanese became a byword, as the type of an idle, a haughty, and a corrupt society."—(*Ibid* p. 102.)

Nor was this the worst. Apart from the ruin prepared by the vices of their own conduct, the colonists were beset by the ceaseless hostility of the surrounding natives, excited by the ruthless violence with which they persecuted the local creeds and attempted the propagation of their own faith. The Portuguese, blending the Peninsular attributes of bigotry and a belated chivalry, had neither forgotten the Crusades nor remembered how completely unsuccessful those romantic endeavours had ultimately been. With a tenacity worthy of respect, they blended a deplorable hardness of heart and a fatuous desire to make the natives conform to their beliefs which was no better than lucrative. Devotion to a high aim was, indeed, not wanting; and the proselytising fervour bore fruit in monuments of sumptuous splendour some of which are still to be seen, erect among the palm groves and jungles of Velha Goa. The better side of this appears in the unselfish labours of St. Francis Xavier—not, however, a Portuguese by birth—by the educational work of the Franciscan Order in Portuguese India, and by the superb churches and colleges built in the chief cities. The darker aspect began to show itself as early as the reign of John III., an able civil ruler, but a fanatic. Under him the Inquisition was established in Portugal and its dependencies; "and it was directly due to his example that the fatal policy of religious persecution was introduced into India."

(Morse Stephens; *Albuquerque*, in "Rulers of India.")

Two generations later, the Spanish King, Philip II., assumed the government, on the disappearance of Don Sebastian; and we may be sure that the work of the Inquisition did not suffer at the hands of Alba's master. At the same time the rivalry of northern nations was widening the breach already begun by bigotry and moral deterioration. The Dutch were on the crest of the wave that was rising against Spain in the Netherlands; and it was not to be expected that they would abstain from

molesting the dependencies of a Kingdom against which they were already urged by the stimulus of commercial competition. While these hardy and not very scrupulous Teutons were blockading Goa and driving the Portuguese from minor settlements on the Malabar Coast and in Ceylon, the English were sapping their maritime power at sea ; and the recovery of the Portuguese Crown by a native dynasty found its Indian possessions reduced to the dimensions which they still hold by British sufferance.

It is, however, worthy of note that the fall of Portuguese power in Western India was in no degree due to any military reverses at the hands of the native Powers. Weak as the colony became, it always held its own against Hindu and Mahomedan assaults, however numerous supported and by whatever momentary successes attended. On the other side of India, indeed, the similar efforts of the native Powers were more permanently successful. Hugli, near Calcutta, was founded by the Portuguese in 1537, but soon rendered an object of hostility to the Moghal Government. About a century later, the Emperor Shah Jahan, having been offended by various marks of religious and political insolence, gave orders that the Portuguese should be expelled : what followed was almost an anticipation of Cawnpore in the Mutiny.

The year 1631 had been a dry season in Bengal, and an attempt to send away the non-combatant Christians by ship failed by reason of the shallow state of the Hugli river, which caused the boats to take the ground : the main stream then flowing in another channel. Consequently the Moghal Commander was enabled to make a complete investment of the town, and blockade it by land and water. The garrison was of small number, but the Moslems long feared to deliver an assault. At length, after an interval of three and a half months, the besiegers blew up a part of the defences by mining, and, in the confusion, effected an entrance into the town ; the fort then capitulated on promise of life ; but over 1,000 armed Europeans were slain, and the rest of the population removed as prisoners to Agra.

Before the end of the 17th century the degeneracy of the Portuguese was deplored by the French traveller Bernier, who at the same time predicted that a French force under Condé or Turenne would "trample under foot" all the armies of the Moghul Empire. The vaunt was to be verified in the course of the next hundred years : the French were the first to point the bamboo lance with steel. The settlement at Pondicheri was founded in 1674 by Francois Martin ; and when, a quarter of a century later, he was besieged there by the Dutch, a portion of his garrison consisted of natives of India, dressed, disciplined and armed in the European style—in a word, what have been known later as "Sepoys."

One of Martin's successors, Dumas, did much to develop this system, and in 1735 handed over to his successor a well-drilled force of native infantry, stiffened by a small nucleus of Europeans. Eleven years later, the French under La Bourdonnais captured Fort St. George at Madras, the principal military post of the British on the Coromandel Coast; and, before the end of the year, fought a Moghul army which had come to the relief of the British and gave them two beatings, the last being decisive. The Moslem leader had 10,000 troops, a large portion of whom were cavalry; the French commanders, Paradis and Epiesmenil, had 430 Europeans and 700 sepoys, besides the assistance of a handful of men from the Fort. This action—known in history as the battle of S. Thomé—is said by an English historian to have “inverted the position of the European settler and the native overlord.” It at least demonstrated the permanent superiority of civilised over barbaric warfare.

The first person to take particular notice of the essential superiority of the Occidental as a fighting man was an astute Hindu of this period, Madhava, or Mahadaji, Sindhia, the founder of the present House of Gwalior. In the year 1778, the British authorities of Bombay sent a column towards Deccan which was met and opposed by a Mahratta force under the chief command of Sindhia. On the 9th of January, 1779, the column arrived at Talegaon Dabhata, about twenty miles from the city of Poona, where they were suddenly encompassed with a ring of fire. They fought for two days, and then, throwing their guns into a tank, retreated to Wadgaon, three miles to the rearward. Decimated and disheartened, the force here surrendered, and the British officers were summoned to durbar to treat of the terms of surrender. It is on record that, in that moment of passing triumph, Sindhia said to an officer who sat by him: “What soldiers you have! Their line is like a brick wall; and when one falls, another steps into the gap: such are the troops I would wish to lead.” This remark rests on the two-fold testimony of Sir John Malcolm and Captain Giant Duff, both conversant with the traditions of those days; and Sindhia soon acted upon the opinion so expressed. If he could not have British soldiers, he would at least engage the services of European officers and impart to his troops a tincture of European discipline. The ablest and most successful of the military adventurers of the 18th century in India was an officer twice chosen by Mahadaji. This was the famous General de Boigne; but before him we must briefly notice a few earlier labourers in the same field.

CHAPTER II.

The first, in point of time, among the men we are considering was Monsieur Law—the “Mushir Lass” of native writers—a nephew of the John Law whose financial schemes did so much mischief to France during the Regency. His career as an adventurer was neither long nor glorious; but he was a professional officer and began military life with good prospects, distinguishing himself particularly in 1748, when Admiral Boscawen was repulsed in his attempt to besiege Pondicheri. The Governor of the French Settlement at that time was the famous Dupleix, then engaged in his life-struggle with the British, from whom he had taken Madras and seemed in a fair way to wrest their whole power and existence in India. Direct war between the rival nations ought to have ceased in 1749, when the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle became known in India; but Dupleix, by taking up the cause of two Moslem claimants, was held by the Madras authorities—restored by the treaty—to be aiming at the position of Lord-paramount over Southern India. They, therefore, brought forward two competitors, and thus—under guise of a war of succession—the rival European powers were opposed again. Dupleix at that time seemed to have the omens in his favour. In the beginning of 1751 both the French candidates were in possession, the one as Viceroy of the Deccan—what is now called “Nizam”—the other, as his Nawab or Deputy, in the Carnatic, or Province of Arcot, in which Madras was situated. The British aspirant for the latter was hemmed in by a superior force at Trichinopoly, and the fall of that place seemed imminent, when the genius of a “heaven-born Captain” turned the scale. With a handful of men and a few small guns, Clive dashed upon Arcot in the month of August; and, the hostile garrison hurrying out on the other side, the town was held for the claimant favoured by the British. Dupleix saw the necessity of a counter-blow; but, being at the moment left without a general, resolved, in an evil hour, to give the command to Law, who had been home to France since the siege of Pondicheri, and had just returned to duty in high health and spirits.

As this is not the history of the war, it may be enough to sum up the story of the investment of Trichinopoly in a few words. Law proved his unfitness for command in every instance: the British leaders, Lawrence, Clive, and Dalton, were men of energy and resource; and Law's part in the war ended, in the middle of June 1752, with the surrender to them of himself and 35 officers with nearly three thousand men.

What efforts were possible Dupleix continued to make, until his recall some two years later; but everything was against him; and he was at last sacrificed to the unjust impatience of

an ungrateful nation. Meanwhile Law, finding all prospects clouded in the South, had gone to Bengal, on being set at liberty after the Convention of Sadras in 1754.

Two years later, when Siraj-ud-daula made that attack on Calcutta which led to the Black Hole and all its consequences, Law was Agent to the French Company at Kasimbazar-near the Capital of the Moghul Nawab, or Deputy, of Bengal, the temporary victor. When, in the following year, Law's ancient antagonist, Clive, came up to retrieve the British position in Bengal, one of his earlier measures was the siege of Chander-nagar, the French head-quarters. Bombarded from the river, the place capitulated; but a few of the French officers, with about fifty white soldiers and twenty sepoy^s, marched out and joined Law. Kasimbazar was accordingly threatened by the conquerors, who disregarded the fact that the French there enjoyed the nominal protection of the Nawab. That unhappy chief, seeing no immediate object in breaking with the British, dismissed Law and his men, furnishing them with supplies and undertaking to recall them if—as was expected—war should soon break out. "Recall us?" Law answered—prompted by experience of Clive and his own British blood—"Alas! Your Highness will never see us again."

Law's prophecy was fulfilled: in June the Nawab, betrayed by his most trusted officer, was defeated at Plassey and soon afterwards captured and put to death by the traitor's son. Law and his associates wandered up the country and offered their swords to the Hindu, Raja Ramnarain, who was in charge of the Province of Bihar. Pursued by Colonel (afterwards Sir) Eyre Coote, they took refuge in the territory of the Nawab of Oudh, finally engaging in the service of the Crown Prince, who had fled from Dehli and was bent upon obtaining reinforcement in that quarter.

This period—that immediately succeeding the battle of Plassey—deserves attention on more grounds than one. It was then that men's minds began to be occupied with what is now the Lieutenantancy of Bengal; the Company at home beginning to see that the efforts of their servants in the South-east—however successful over the French—were somewhat of a false start, so far as access to the heart of the Indian Empire was concerned; while the French officers who had lost their occupation in the Deccan, were at the same time throwing an anxious eye towards the future. "So far as I can see," said Law to the native historian of the time, "there is nothing that you could call 'Government' between Patna and Dehli. If men in the position of Shuja-ud-daulah (the Nawab of Oudh) would take me up loyally, I would not only beat off the English, but would undertake to administer the Empire."

* *Siraj-ul-mutakherin*; by Ghulam Hossein Khan.

Associated with Law in this arduous enterprise were men some of whose names will recur on the following pages; Médoc, Reinhardt, du Drenec, and others of whom no definite record remains, such as the Comte de Moldavre, and the Chevalier de Crecy: M. M. St. Frais and Courtin, who had served, hopelessly, but bravely, at Plassey, were captured by Coote on their way to Lucknow in 1758.

We have now to follow the fortunes of the remaining fugitives, so far as fact or fancy will lead us. Without authoritative commissions or regular pay; far from letters, books, or any of the resources of civilisation, they wandered over the alluvial plains, steaming with monsoon miasma, or basking in deadly heat, sometimes feasted by Nawabs, at other times living on the scanty fare of the bazars; everywhere followed by the relentless British, yet keenly cherishing the hope of revenge and altered fortune. At last they found a momentary refuge with the Crown Prince—as forlorn as themselves—in Bundelkhand, where a Hindu chief had lately founded a small principality named, after himself, Chhatarpur.

Early in 1760, however, came news from Dehli which led the Prince to fresh enterprise: his father, the Emperor, had been murdered by a ruthless Minister, and the Prince also learned that the Afghans had invaded the Punjab and occupied Dehli. Apparently afraid to return, he assumed the succession, with the title of Shah Alam, at a village in Bihar called Kananti, and called on all loyal servants of the Crown to give him aid where he was.

"The Eastern Subahs"—to use a phrase of the old historians—were, at the time of the Prince's proclamation, held by a nominee of the British to whom Clive had been partly indebted for his rapid triumph. This nobleman was Jáfár Ali Khan—the "Meer Jaffier" of history; and his Deputy in Bihar was the Raja Ramnarain who was mentioned above as holding the same post under the older government. This latter, having sent to Jáfár for help, came forth from the sheltering walls of Patna to oppose the proceedings of his Sovereign, the titular Emperor, Shah Alam; but the imperialists repelled him with serious loss, in which was included that of four companies of British sepoy with their officers. On this the Raja, wounded and alarmed, fell back on Patna, which, for the moment, was not besieged.

Shortly after this success, the Emperor encountered an Anglo-Bengali force; and, not prevailing, adopted—probably on Law's advice—the soldierly expedient of a flank-march, hoping to cut between the enemy and his capital of Murrhidabad and seize upon that city in the absence of its defenders. But he was once more baffled by the superior activity of the British

leaders, and in April turned to the only course left him, the siege of Patna. The batteries were quickly established; and Law effected a breach, after five days of open trenches, proceeding at once to the assault before the Anglo-Bengali troops should have time to come up and raise the siege. The stormers reached the ramparts with help from scaling ladders, the breach so hurriedly attempted being far from complete. On reaching the top, the Imperialists were met by the flower of the garrison, animated by the presence of Dr. Fullerton, a British Medical Officer; and the assailants drew off for a time. The attack, however, was twice renewed, and the defenders of Patna were on the point of being overpowered when help appeared from an unexpected quarter. Captain Knox, sent from Murshidabad to watch the Imperialists, had run across the interposed three hundred miles in thirteen days. Falling upon the Emperor's army at the hour—I P. M.—when the men were resting after dinner, without accoutrements or arms, he put them to flight with his small following, of whom only two hundred were Europeans.

After some manoeuvring and another unsuccessful flight, the Imperialists took up their winter-quarters between Patna and Murshidabad, near the town of Gya. But Law's course was now all but run. On the 15th of January, 1761, the British, who had become of sufficient strength to assume the offensive, attacked the Imperial forces at Suàn, and the result was the flight of the Emperor and his native followers. In the deserted field the British commanders, Major Carnac and Captain Knox, came upon a small group consisting of about fifty, foot and thirteen French officers, in the midst of whom was Law, seated astride on a now idle field-piece, with the colours of his command in his hand. Wearied with his long and fruitless wanderings, he invited death; but the British officers, approaching with uncovered heads, besought him to surrender. "To that," said the Franco-Scot, "I have no objection if you leave me my sword, which I will not part with as long as I am alive." The Major consenting, the late adversaries shook hands, and Law was taken to camp in Carnac's palanquin which was at hand. This is our last authentic view of a brave, but very unlucky man; and we are indebted for it to Ghulam Hossain, who was much impressed by the humanity and courtesy of the scene.

One of the most remarkable among Law's followers was Walter Reinhardt, believed to have been born in the small electoral Province of Trèves, about 1720. The ties of country were not strong at that time, in border-lands like that; and young Reinhardt, enlisting in the French army, found himself in the course of the service stationed at Pondichéri at the time when

La Bourdonnais and Dupleix were making their most vigorous efforts to obstruct the designs of the British Company. After the operations already glanced at, Reinhardt was included in the surrender of Law's force at Trichinopoly in 1752, after which he took service in a British regiment. In 1756 he deserted and again joined the French, accompanying Law to Bengal in the capacity of sergeant.

In 1760 occurred the palace-revolution by which the Nawab Jafar was deposed and Kasim Ali—"Meer Cossim"—set up in his place. Not being disposed to accept the part of a mere mute, this new ruler set about providing himself with a regular army, to the command of which he appointed an Armenian called by the native historians Gurjin Khan, under whom Reinhardt obtained command of a battalion of foot. Stirring events were coming: the Calcutta council in no long time quarreled with their nominated Nawab; Mr. Ellis, the local Agent of the Council, attempting to seize Patna, was worsted and shut up there, with one hundred and fifty of his white and coloured followers. Kasim Ali lost his head and ordered a general massacre. Gurjin and his officers demurred. "Arm the English," they said "and we will fight them like soldiers. Butchers we are not and will not be." In this emergency recourse was had to Reinhardt, who appears to have undertaken the task without hesitation. The courtyard in which the prisoners were collected was surrounded by Reinhardt's men, who shot them down from the upper terraces: Dr. Fullarton alone was spared.

As some attempt has been made in later days to throw doubt on this account, it may be well to notice some of the evidence on which it rests. Fullarton is not known to have left any written record of the massacre; but his oral account must have been the original authority. Broome, in his admirable *History of the Bengal Army*, accepts it without question; as also does Major L. T. Smith, of Sindhia's service, who knew the men of that day and their traditions, serving only a quarter of a century after Reinhardt's death: Smith's words are: "He undertook the criminal commission with ardour and alacrity; but I have been credibly informed that this nefarious act haunted his mind to the last hour of his existence." *The Imperial Gazetteer* (XI, 96) accepts the story on the authority of "a contemporary letter." Lastly, it is not easy to see how such a myth could have found currency had it not had some foundation in the known character of the man.

This massacre took place after Kasim's army had undergone several defeats, in one at least of which Reinhardt—known by the sobriquet of "Sombre"—took a handsome part. The battle of Ghiria—2d August 1763—was most obstinate; and,

In the opinion of our officers, the Moghuls never fought so well. At one moment they had broken the British line and captured two guns. But discipline prevailed : Kasim and his swordsmen were put to flight before the end of the year, and forced to seek refuge with Shuja, already mentioned as the Nawab of Oudh. The British demanded their surrender; but Shuja refused ; under a curious prejudice of oriental chivalry he undertook to murder them, if that would do. The battle of Buxar ensued, and the fugitives were driven from the camp of the Nawab, who proceeded to make peace with the victorious British. Sombre—"Somra Sahib", as he had begun to be known among the natives—went to seek his fortune in the disturbed districts south of the Jamna, finally taking service among the Bhurtpore Jats. His following by this time comprised some low Europeans whom he had attracted from among the tramps of the time, with some guns and a few companies of men from the *debris* of Kasim's army. The total strength was then estimated at four battalions of foot, six field-pieces, chiefly manned by Europeans, and a small corps of native cavalry. Those who are best acquainted with the modern Indian "loafer" can best imagine the sort of ruffians that formed the gunners and officers of this force. Under fire a sort of stolid discipline prevailed ; in camp drunkenness and disobedience ruled supreme. The tactics of the brigade were simple : paying no attention to the general dispositions of the force with which they might be serving, they would enter the field from whatever quarter they deemed suitable ; fire their guns with all possible precision as long as their side held its ground ; if that side gave way, they would retire their guns under a screen of infantry fire, and, in case of a total defeat, pass over bodily into the service of the victors.

In the autumn of 1774, Sombre Reinhardt was at length enabled to turn these inglorious principles of warfare to a profitable and lasting account. The Emperor had been restored, and was now settled at Dehli, whence he despatched his able and high-minded Minister—a Persian nobleman named Mirza Najaf Khan—to coerce the Jats who had taken possession of the Imperial city and palace of Agra. Dislodged from this position, they eluded the Imperialists and proceeded to attack Dehli accompanied by Sombre and his brigade ; halting at Sikandra-bad, thirty-six miles from the capital, for the rainy season. On the approach of the cold weather the Mirza marched against them, with 10,000 men, under his godson Najaf Kuli—a converted Hindu—the "Red battalion" of the Emperor's guards and a choice body of Persian horse. After some manœuvres and minor collisions, the Mirza brought the Jats to a stand at Barrana, in what is now the District of Muttra. Sending on

skirmishers from his infantry under Najaf Kuli, and holding his cavalry well in hand, the Imperialist leader began a duel of artillery, in which he lost several Mughal officers and was himself wounded in the arm. Nevertheless his foot and artillery maintained a stout defence while he retired into shelter and had his arm bandaged. Hastening back to the field, he rallied his horsemen with a fervent invocation to the God of battle, and delivered a headlong charge at the centre of the hostile line. His infantry following at the double, the Jats broke and fled; while Sombre's brigade slowly retired in good order, and came over the next day. The reinforcement was welcomed; the brigade was taken into the Imperial service, a considerable fief near Dehli being assigned for its support; and its commander was appointed to the charge of Agra, where he passed the residue of his life, taking no further part in active military service.

It is somewhat shocking to our modern notions of historical justice to have to relate this peaceful and honourable conclusion to the career of such a bloodstained and faithless condottiere. General Sombre, as he was now called, had a Moslem wife, who went mad; but he had no further trouble to the day of his death, which happened in May, 1778. He was buried in a fine tomb in the Catholic cemetery of the Civil Lines at Agra, and a still more substantial monument remains in the shape of a Church—since converted into a printing-office connected with the convent—where a tablet is still to be seen bearing a Latin inscription. This sets forth that the building was provided at the expense of "Dominus Walter Reinhard," the final (t) being omitted, evidently for the sake of euphony. What became of the fief, will be noted later on.

The battle of Barsána deserves the detailed account above recorded, not only for its illustration of the military habits of Sombre, but still more as an instance of the value of European discipline. Whatever may have been the gallantry of the Mirza and his godson, there can be little doubt that the firmness and energy of the infantry attack by which the charge of cavalry was followed up, was mainly due to the discipline of the Mirza's French officers and the initiative which they imparted to their men. Moidavre, Crecy, and du Drenec were gentlemen of character and experience, much more than a match for the bucolic Jats and Sombre's loafers. But the best-known of these officers was Médoc, of whom a brief account must now be given. This adventurer had entered the Jat service about the same time as Reinhardt, though not amongst his followers, having a distinct brigade of his own. A native of Brittany, he had originally come to India with the unfortunate Count Lally, after whose defeats and captivity he had—like

many others—found his way to Bengal, where his courage and force of character had attracted a following which grew to a force of five battalions of foot, with twenty guns, and five hundred horse. Shortly after the Restoration, in 1771, he went to Delhi, where he entered the Imperial service and distinguished himself in operations against the Mahrattas under the orders of Mirza Najaf, as well as in the campaign against the Jats. About 1781 he was despatched to the assistance of the Rana of Gohad, then engaged in a struggle for the fort and district of Gwalior. Here he was surprised, one wet night, by a party of Rohilla horse—presumably in the Mahratta interest—and forced to retreat upon the old Imperial palace of Futteh-pore-Sikri, whence he finally made his way to Agra. Here he recruited his men and cast new guns, but is not known to have been actively engaged in the field; and in 1782 he made over his brigade—no doubt for a handsome consideration—to the Rana of Gohad, and returned to France, where he was ultimately killed in a duel.* Independently of the battle of Barsána, Médoc is not distinguished by any military achievement; and his career is remarkable only as showing what might be done for himself, in those wild times, by a soldier of no special intellect. He seems to have founded a family in Brittany, a member of which has been met with in the Channel Islands, in a good social position, within recent times.

A very different man first came to the front during this Gwalior War; but the military career of Count de Boigne demands a separate chapter.

(To be continued.)

* Médoc's brigade was not more fortunate after the Commander's retreat, having been again surprised by the Mahrattas, swining to the last the negligence of a force organised by an officer more remarkable for courage than for conduct.

ART. II.—THE SWISS TROOPS IN THE ARMIES OF EUROPE.

.BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

“**W**HERE are my Switzers? Let them guard the door:” exclaims the King of Denmark, in *Hamlet*. Even as early as Shakespeare’s time, the Swiss mercenary soldier had come to be considered an appanage and a bulwark of Continental Royalty. The strength and courage which he had displayed in the defence of his own rights and liberties caused his services to be eagerly sought by ambitious sovereigns and unscrupulous statesmen who wished to rivet their yoke on the necks of others; and the character of unflinching loyalty and unswerving fidelity which he had always manifested in upholding and defending the interests of his employers marked him out as a reliable instrument for carrying out the designs of shifty diplomatists and faithless monarchs. His stout heart and ready hand were at the disposal of the highest bidder for his services; and for more than three centuries the white cross of the Swiss Confederation was borne to the front by Swiss battalions in all the battles and sieges of Western Europe: it flew side by side with the Lion of St. Mark in Candia, and in Morea, and with the Castle and Crown on the sandy shores of Mauritania.

In the Dark Ages what is now German Switzerland was included in the “Holy Roman Empire,” and Rodolph of Hapsburg, in the present Canton Aargau, was elected Emperor of Germany, the first of the long hereditary line of the House of Austria. What is now French Switzerland formed part of the Duchies of Great and Little Burgundy; and Italian Switzerland was ruled by the Archbishops of Como and the Dukes of Milan. The Confederation of the Cantons was cemented by the series brilliant victories gained by the hardy mountaineers over the mailed chivalry of Austria and Burgundy. Two Austrian Archdukes lost their armies, and one his life, in attempting to reconquer the cradle of their greatness; in the homely words of the people’s ballad on the battle of Sempach

“It was the Archduke Leopold,

That would so lordly ride;

But he came against the Switzer churls,

And they slew him in his pride.”

Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy lost “Gut, Muth and Blut” (Treasure, Fame, and Life), in the three successive bloody and decisive battles of Grandson, Morat, and Nancy, and the captured spoils of his camp are to this day to be seen

in the museums and arsenals of Switzerland. After his death no other Prince could be found adventurous enough to attempt to interfere with the Swiss on their own ground ; and the Confederates, passing from the defensive to the offensive, wrested the Southern slopes of their Alps from the Duke of Milan, and the Northern shores of Lake Lemman from the Grand Duke of Savoy. They descended into the plain of Lombardy, and engaged the might of the monarchy of France and the flower of her chivalry in ' the battle of the giants ' at Marignano. Francis the First might have exclaimed in the words of Pyrrhus when the Epirot King looked upon the Roman slain after the battle of the Metaurus, " with such soldiers the world were mine ! " and he determined that henceforth the Swiss should be his allies, instead of his enemies. The great transition from the feudal to the modern system in European warfare had already begun : knights and men-at-arms were gradually being replaced by standing armies, and the invention of fire-arms was restoring to infantry its proper rôle on the battle-field. To this result the victories of the Swiss Confederate armies, almost entirely composed of infantry, over the mail-clad horsemen of Austria and Burgundy, materially contributed : and the example of the Turkish Janissaries had already demonstrated the advantage, from a military point of view, of a body of " men living in continual pay," and so led to the rapid growth and development of the mercenary system in Europe.

In the fifteenth century Louis XI of France engaged for his own services some bands of the redoubtable warriors who had just vanquished and slain his most formidable rival, and his son, Charles VIII, added a company of a hundred picked Swiss soldiers to his own body-guards ; the first company of regular foot-soldiers ever embodied in France. This company was the famous Cent Suisses de la Garde, which for more than three centuries guarded the French throne and was only finally disbanded in 1830.

Francis the First employed all the arts of French diplomacy, and resorted freely to flattery and bribery to gain over the nobles and leading citizens of the Swiss Cantons to his interest and to obtain from them levies of troops for his army. The Swiss authorities soon discovered that the supply of mercenaries could be made a profitable source of revenue ; their barren mountain-peaks and pastoral highlands were insufficient even for the support of their hardy and frugal population, and foreign military service afforded a convenient method for disposing of the superfluous inhabitants, while it provided an enticing career for the adventurous youth of the country. The Swiss Confederacy had been formed by two centuries of almost continual warfare, and the free peasantry shared largely in

the military instincts and traditions of the knights and barons who had so often led them to victory. The scantiness of both the population and the resources of their country forbade the Swiss from taking the place in the wars and councils of Europe to which their courage and ambition aspired: and their passion for war and greed of wealth could only be gratified and satisfied by military service under a foreign Power. The ducats of France and the sequins of Venice were soon pouring into the treasuries of the Cantons in exchange for gallant companies of halberdiers, and arquebusiers flaming with scarlet, and shining with steel.

The men were enlisted either for a specified term of generally years, or for the duration of a war. They were raised at the commencement, or in anticipation of a war, and disbanded on the conclusion of peace, or the disappearance of danger. Their employment was at first confined to the service of the Kings of France, and the petty Princes and Republics of Italy and the Pope. In the year 1505, His Holiness Pope Julius II raised a company of Swiss for his own personal guard, which became a permanent force, and survives to this day with but a few trifling alterations in its formation, dress, arms and equipment. Its strength was four officers, six exempts or sergeants, six corporals, and one hundred halberdiers of whom four were "trabants," serving at the quarters of the Captain. It had also a Drum-Major, four drummers and a fifer, and a band of eight musicians. Twenty-two years after its formation the company was annihilated in the sack of Rome by the army of the Constable Bourbon, the Swiss soldiers perishing to a man in defence of their master, Pope Clement VII, like the Spartans at Thermopylæ. In the year, 1548, Pope Paul III re-established the company on its former footing, since which date it has continuously mounted guard at the Vatican. Other companies were in course of time added to it, and in the eighteenth century there were four companies of Papal Swiss Guards; but the original company is now the only one that remains. Its dress is a plumed helmet, a starched ruff, a yellow doublet and trunk-hose slashed with crimson and blue: the officers wear corslets of damascened steel. The arms are halberts eight feet long, and basket-hilted rapiers.

The levies of troops furnished by the Cantons to foreign Powers were called "Bands," and consisted of companies varying in strength from 100 to 400 men, which were independent units. The soldiers were chiefly halberdiers, the halbert being the favourite weapon of the Swiss, as the "brown bill" was of the English infantry. In each company there were four or more Trabants, or Drabants

picked men who were employed as orderlies, and for the guard of the company's cash chest. The name still survives in the "Trabanten Guard" of the Emperor of Austria, and is probably the same as the appellation of "Dorobantsi," which is applied to the Militia or Landwehr in Roumania.

The religious wars in the sixteenth century set all the Swiss Cantons by the ears, and for a time provided all their fighting men with ample employment at home. The Kings of France, however, continued to hire Swiss Bands from the Catholic Cantons to carry on the war against the Huguenots, and they furnished not the least formidable part of the formidable army of the Catholic League in the time of Henri Quatre;

"With all it's priest-led citizens, and all it's rebel peers ;

"With Appenzell's stout infantry, and Egmont's Flemish spears : " • •

as enumerated in Macaulay's spirited ballad.

In the reign of Henri II of France the companies of the Swiss Bands were for the first time collected into regiments, which were commanded by the Senior Captain, with the title of Colonel. The convenience of this arrangement, soon led to its general and permanent adoption. The Cantons now raised a whole regiment at a time, or several of the smaller Cantons clubbed together to raise a regiment, each Canton furnishing one or more companies. There were usually ten or twelve companies in the regiment, all of equal strength, except the company of "enfants perdus," or Forlorn Hope, which was often of superior numerical strength to the others, probably to compensate for the greater risks and losses to which it was exposed. The Captain of this company ranked next to the Colonel and commanded the regiment in case of his absence or death. The duties of a regimental Staff were divided among the other Captains, one being Paymaster and Quarter-Master, and the other Baggage-Master, a third Scout-Master, and so on. Each company had a proportion of arquebusiers, pikemen, and halberdiers. In the field the companies were broken up, and formed in divisions according to their arms, one Captain having the chief command of the Arquebusiers, another of the pikemen, and a third of the halberdiers.

When the Republic of Venice was assailed by the Confederates of Cambray, the Doge appealed to the Swiss for the assistance of a body of troops : but they, judging the cause of Venice to be hopeless, as indeed it was, and being unwilling to embroil themselves with such powerful enemies, declined to accede to his request. But, when, in 1573, Sultan Selim the Drunken, made war upon Venice to obtain possession of the island of Cyprus, which he coveted for the sake of its wine, the Venetians again proposed to hire Swiss troops : and Melchior Lussy of Unterwalden raised a regiment 3,000 strong, which

was employed in defending the frontiers of Dalmatia and Croatia against the inroads of the Turks. At the same time King Philip II of Spain applied to the Catholic Cantons for a Swiss regiment to aid in suppressing the interminable revolt of the Netherlands; and accordingly Baron Walter de Roll carried thither a regiment 4,000 strong, divided into 10 "ensigns," of 400 men each. The pride and hauteur of the Spanish Viceroy, Don Louis de Requesens, was, however, so offensive to the independent character of the Swiss Colonel, that a violent quarrel took place between them, which ended in the cancelling of the agreement and the return of the regiment to Switzerland.

In 1593, Charles Emmanuel I, Grand Duke of Savoy applied to the four Forest Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden for a levy of troops, and they, between them, raised three regiments of 2,000 men each. Each regiment had 8 Companies, the company of "Enfants perdus" mustering 550, and the rest 250 men. Some years later, the same Prince hired from the Canton of Berne a regiment 3,000 strong, formed in nine companies: one of 400 "Enfants perdus," and the rest of 325 men each.

From this time forward France, Spain, Savoy and Venice became regular customers of the Swiss market for "*Chair à Canon*," and they never engaged in a war without hiring a contingent of Swiss soldiers to supplement the national forces. The Swiss were conspicuous for their steadiness in the field, and discipline in quarters, qualities in which the Latin nations found themselves notoriously deficient: the Germans had no recourse to Switzerland for military assistance. This was, however, partly because the Emperor affected to consider the country as still forming part of the German Empire, and therefore would not stoop to hire for money the service which he claimed the right to demand. The Swiss authorities on their part, though careful to preserve their practical independence, were anxious to observe the old traditions and to avoid an open rupture with their former suzerain. When King Gustavus Adolphus was victoriously maintaining the Protestant cause in Germany, during the thirty years' war, he applied to the Cantons of Berne and Zurich for assistance in the shape of a Swiss contingent; but they declined to hire out their troops to an enemy of the Empire. However, they complacently shut their eyes to the Swedish recruiting *sub rosa* in their territories, and the king's agents thus succeeded in raising two Swiss regiments which they carried to the Swedish camp before Nuremberg. They took part in the great battle of Lutzen, where the king fell, and afterwards served under Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar till they were all but totally destroyed in his unfortunate defeat at Nordlingen.

The Cantons generally appointed a Swiss nobleman or officer of superior rank to command all their troops, in the service of a foreign Power: and this was the case in France until the reign of King Charles the IX, of St. Bartholomew fame, who made the post of "Colonel-General of the Swiss and Grisons" an appointment on the French Army Staff; and henceforward it was always filled by a French General officer, either a nobleman of high rank, or a prince of the blood-royal.

The Colonel-General had a company in the regiment of Swiss Guards: he performed the functions of a modern Adjutant-General for all the Swiss troops in the service of France, and had under him a large Staff, comprising a Judge-Advocate, an Almoner, or Catholic Chaplain, a Secretary and Interpreter, a Surgeon-Major, &c., all of whom were attached, for administrative purposes, to the Colonel-General's company, which was No. 1 Battalion Company of the 1st Battalion of the regiment of Swiss Guards, and was always kept at a strength of 200 men.

Gaspard Gallaty was a gallant Swiss soldier of fortune, who had served in France under the Kings Henri III, Henri IV, and Louis XIII successively, and had raised several regiments for their armies, which had been as usual disbanded when their services were no longer required, with the exception of the Colonel's own company, which used to be retained on foot to serve as a nucleus for the formation of a new regiment on occasion, as was the common custom. In the year 1614, this company became the 1st company of a new regiment of Gallaty, which so signalised itself, that, two years after its formation, Louis XIII created it a regiment of Guards by letters-patent dated 16th March, 1616. It took rank next to the Gardes Françaises; and continued to maintain its fame and add to its laurels for nearly two hundred years, until it perished defending its trust and its post to the last against the overwhelming numbers of the revolutionary mob on the 10th August, 1792.

The religious wars for some time caused a coolness between the Crown of France and the Protestant Cantons, but Louis XIV, who was in urgent need of soldiers to carry out his grand schemes for the extension of French influence on the Continent, succeeded in gaining the friendship of Berne and Zurich, and renewing the French alliance with the Swiss confederation: and in 1671 he obtained from them a large levy of Swiss troops, the regiments of which he, for the first time, made permanent units of the French Army, numbering them in the Infantry of the Line, and giving them precedence according to their standing, with the proviso that the senior French regiment present should always take the right of the line.

Thus even the Gardes Swisses could only take the second place: in the absence of the Gardes Françaises, the senior French regiment of the Line on the ground must hold the post of honour.

Eight of these Swiss regiments raised by Le Grand Monarque continued to form part of the French Army until the Revolution. They were organised in battalions, for, the large regiments having been found too unwieldy as tactical units, they were divided into battalions whereby the authority and profits of the Colonels remained undiminished, while greater tactical efficiency was at the same time secured. The augmentations and reductions which always took place at the commencement or conclusion of a war, were now also more easily and economically effected by increasing or diminishing the number of battalions in an existing regiment than by creating new cadres. These new regiments were for the first time armed with the bayonet, which had been introduced into the French Army by Major-General Martinet in 1669. In 1683 the Baron of Beroldingen raised a regiment of 2,400 men for the service of Spain in the Canton of Uri. It was divided into three battalions of four companies each, and for the first time the "Enfants perdus" were replaced by a company of Grenadiers. They and the Musketeers were armed with the bayonet. The halberdiers and pikemen were still retained, the former being posted in the centre of the battalion with the musketeers, while the Grenadiers and pikemen were stationed on the flanks. By the end of the seventeenth century the pike and halberd had entirely disappeared, except from the hands of Palace Guards, Infantry Sergeants, and trabants in the Swiss regiments, and all the rank and file of a battalion were similarly armed and equipped, with the exception that the Grenadiers carried hand-grenades and hatchets, and were often armed with sabres in addition to the musket and bayonet. The wars of the Coalition against the threatening power of Louis XIV, afforded a rich harvest to the sword and to the treasuries of the Swiss Cantons. The Empire of Germany and the States General of Holland, now, for the first time became customers of the Swiss recruit market, and the Republic of Venice was at the same time engaged in a renewal of its struggles with the Turk.

All the newly-raised standing Armies of Europe being recruited by voluntary enlistment, they were incapable of rapid expansion, or of maintaining their strength through a long war; and wars were generally long in those days. The system of conscription had not yet been invented by Frederick William of Prussia, and though press-gangs and forced levies were freely made use of, compulsory military service was not

regarded with a favourable eye, and the hiring of foreign mercenaries was more generally resorted to. France had her Irish Brigade, as well as Scots, Swiss, and German regiments in her army; the Imperial and Spanish armies were equally cosmopolitan; and the army with which William III landed at Torbay comprised Swedish, Danish and Prussian regiments, all lent or hired for the occasion.

Soon after his accession to the throne of Great Britain, this king concluded a capitulation with the five Protestant Cantons of Berne, Zurich, Glarus, Appenzel, and Schaffhausen, dated 10th March 1690, for the supply of two Swiss regiments for the service of England. Each regiment was to be 2,000 strong, formed in two battalions of five companies each. Berne was to furnish one regiment, and the other Cantons were to contrive to supply the second. Zurich was to furnish the Colonel and the whole of 1st battalion: the others were to apportion the regimental staff and the 3rd battalion between them. This arrangement came to nothing: probably Parliament refused to grant the necessary funds, and "*Point d'argent point de Suisse*" was the fundamental maxim of the Swiss merchants of *chair à canon*.

When Prince or Potentate wanted the services of Swiss troops to supplement the national resources, he applied through his Ambassador in Switzerland, or sent a special agent to apply for them. If the Canton or Cantons were willing to grant the levy, a capitulation was drawn up, minutely specifying the number and organization of the troops, the remuneration to be paid for their services, and all details relating to their pay and equipment, down to the minutest particulars, which was signed and sealed by the high contracting parties. A lump-sum for the expenses of raising and equipping each regiment was fixed, half of which was to be paid to the Colonel in advances, and the balance when the Regiment passed the inspection of the hirer's agent at the time and place appointed. The Cantonal authorities nominated the Colonel and other field officers, and the Colonel nominated the Captains, who appointed their own subalterns. The recruiting was then commenced by the Captains, each having a Canton or District allotted to him, according to the distribution of the Regiment. Enlistments were voluntary and for a specified term, with option of re-engagement.

However, in Italian Switzerland, which was governed as a conquered country by the Swiss of the forest Cantons, forced levies were freely resorted to to provide troops for the service of Savoy; and the Casa di Ferro at Locarno, which may be seen to this day, was built to serve as a barrack-prison for the Tessinese recruits, who were kept there, under lock and key.

till they could be despatched to the Grand Duke's barracks at Turin. The Swiss authorities used also to get rid of the *man-vais sujets* of the Cantons by using a little gentle persuasion to induce them to enlist in a regiment *à l'étranger*. There were plenty of willing recruits, for the rates of pay were fixed at a high figure to attract good men, and much exceeded the ordinary rates of a soldier's pay. Pension was also provided for in case of a man being disabled in the service.

The capitulations generally contained stipulations that the troops, if Protestants, should be allowed the free exercise of their religion in Catholic countries and, *vice versa*, that they should not be employed beyond seas; and, in the case of the French service, that they should not be asked to cross the Rhine, as the Cantons did not like their troops to take part in an invasion of the empire, on account of their traditional connexion with it. The original parchments of these capitulations with the great seals of France, Spain, &c., attached to them may still be inspected in the archives at Berne and other cities of Switzerland, where they are carefully preserved; as are also the muster-rolls and present states of the regiments and companies which were furnished as annual returns to the Canton responsible for them.

In proportion to its population, Switzerland supplied greater number of soldiers than any country in Europe, and its nobility and gentry were entirely devoted to the profession of arms. The names of the famous old military families recur again and again in the history of the wars of Europe; and there were few countries and few armies which did not avail themselves of the aid of Swiss soldiers of fortune: we find the names of Stockalper and Riedmatten as captains of Swiss companies under Henri Quatre, and a Brigadier General and Colonel of the same names among the Swiss troops who crushed the revolution at Naples in 1848. The Plyffers of Lucerne signalled themselves in the service of the French Crown for generations, from the wars of the League to the defence of the Tuileries. The Bernese regiment of Erlach in the French service was commanded by a succession of colonels of that noble family for a century; one of the Erlachs became a Maréchal of France, another attained the rank of Field-Marshal Lieutenant in the Imperial service, a third became an Admiral in Denmark. The Dohnas of Berne furnished a general officer to the Prussian Army for three generations. Rossier, of Vevey, was a General, first in the service of Sardinia, afterwards, in the Prussian Army under Frederick the Great. Le Fort of Geneva entered the Gardes Suisses at Paris at the age of fourteen as a cadet, served through several campaigns, quitted the French service for that of Holland, was selected to train the Russian

troops in the ways of European drill and discipline, became first favourite with Peter the Great, and died a Field Marshal and an Admiral. His son succeeded him in the Russian service, and became a General Officer.

The colonelcy of the Grison regiment in the service of France was hereditary in the family of de Salis de Marschlinz; and other branches of the de Salis family became famous in other armies. The noble family of De Courten in the Valais owned the proprietary colonelcy of one Valaisan regiment in the service of France, and another in that of Sardinia; it can count twenty-three General Officers in its pedigree, and is still represented in the Swiss Guard of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. The Tschudis of Glarus held in their family the hereditary colonelcies of a Swiss regiment of the Guards and another of the Line in the Kingdom of Naples, and many other regimental and company commands were hereditary in other Swiss families. The poor and martial nobility of the Cantons looked to the profession of arms for their livelihood; but it often happened that, from ostentation or emulation, the proprietary colonels spent on their regiments more money than they made out of them, and were beggared in consequence.

A French officer once twitted an officer of the Gardes Suisses with being a mercenary. "You serve for money," said he, "while we Frenchmen serve for honour." "Naturally," replied the Swiss, drily, "every one serves to gain what he needs most."

The States-General of Holland had long been anxious to obtain the services of Swiss auxiliaries. They had applied to the Protestant cantons to help them in their long struggle with Spain; but the Catholic influence in Switzerland and in the empire had succeeded in thwarting their application. When they were attacked by Louis XIV. they renewed the attempt; and, in spite of the strenuous opposition offered by the Court of Versailles, the cantons of Berne and Zurich between them raised a regiment of three battalions, mustering 2,400 men, for the service of Holland. Colonel de Watteville or Von Wattenwyl, of Berne, commanded it, and the capitulation was for ten years, from 1676 to 1686, when the regiment was disbanded.

However, in 1692, William III. succeeded in concluding capitulations with several Cantons for a number of Swiss regiments for the Dutch service; and, during the twenty years of almost incessant warfare that followed, there were sometimes as many as 20,000 Swiss serving with the Dutch Army. William III. took great pride and interest in these troops, and they well repaid his care by their courage and conduct. He instituted the office of Colonel-General for their command, and conferred it on his favourite, Arnold Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, Viscount Bury, Baron of Keppel and Achesfort in Holland, Captain of the first

troop of English Life-Guards, General in the Dutch Army, and Colonel of the Swiss Regiment of Albemarle. The Earl held the office of Colonel-General of the Swiss in the Dutch service from 1698 to his death in 1718.

The King at the same time laid down the following regulations for the promotion of officers in the Swiss Regiments;—

I.—When a Regiment becomes vacant, the Colonel-General will submit to His Britannic Majesty the names of two officers, of whom one shall be the Lieutenant-Colonel of the said Regiment, and the other an officer of merit, either the Major or a Captain of the same Regiment. His Majesty will choose one of these two.

II.—With regard to the places of Lieutenant-Colonels and of Majors which may become vacant, the Colonel-General will propose the names of three officers to His Majesty, one the most senior, and two others whom he may deem most worthy. His Majesty will choose one of the three.

III.—On a company becoming vacant, the Colonel will propose to the Colonel-General the names of the two most senior Captain Lieutenants of the Regiment, and of a third, most worthy. The Colonel-General will select one of the three to fill the vacancy, subject to ratification by His Majesty.

IV.—His Britannic Majesty will issue to all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captains commissions subscribed by the States-General under their seal, and signed by the Colonel-General.

V.—The Captains will have the right of nominating the ensigns and of promoting the officers of their companies observing the order of seniority except for some good reason, which must be reported by the Captain to the Colonel-General and approved by the latter. The nomination of all officers must be submitted by the Captain to the Colonel and approved by him, after which the Colonels will submit their names to the Colonel-General, who will forward their commissions.

VI.—Applications from officers for furlough and leave of absence, if approved by the Colonel, will be forwarded through him to the Colonel-General for disposal.

VII.—The Colonel-General alone can give an officer permission to absent himself from his corps, or to quit the dominions of the States-General for a longer period than eight days.

VIII.—Colonels and Officers in command of regiments will furnish to the Colonel-General every month the present state of their corps.

- IX.—Applications from officers to retire from the service will be submitted through their Colonels to the Colonel-General, who will grant or refuse permission at his discretion.
- X.—When the Colonel-General is present with the troops, a Swiss company with its colours will mount guard at his tent or quarters, in addition to the guard he may have as a General Officer.
- XI.—The Colonel-Generals will pass the Swiss Regiment in review whenever it is his pleasure to do so.
- XII.—The Swiss Regiments present with the Army shall pay the same honours to the Colonel-General as they pay to the General Commanding the Army.
- XIII.—The Swiss Regiment in garrison shall pay the same honours to the Colonel-General as they pay to the Field-Marshal.
- XIV.—The Colonel-General shall be entitled to have twelve Swiss Halberdiers in attendance at his quarters.

(Signed) William Rex.

Dated 22nd November, 1698.

This King, who was indefatigable in stirring up enemies against Louis XIV. also entertained a Swiss Regiment in the service of the Grand Duke of Savoy. In 1691 he commissioned a Colonel Oberkan to raise this Regiment for him. Oberkan was one of the many enemies whom Le Grand Monarque had made by the wretched blunder of his anti-Protestant policy, whereby he forced Marshal Schomberg and many others of his bravest and most faithful followers into the ranks of his bitterest foe. Oberkan was colonel of a Swiss Regiment in the French service, which he quitted in disgust on the Revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Sometimes, as in this case, a Swiss soldier of fortune and influence received a commission from a foreign Power to raise a Regiment for its service, the capitulation being arranged with the colonel, who obtained the sanction of the Canton or Cantons to the recruitment of his corps. Colonel Oberkan thus raised a single Battalion regiment of four companies of 200 men each, which joined the Piedmontese Army employed against the French, but was paid and maintained from English funds. After Colonel Oberkan's death, the remains of his Regiment were drafted into the Swiss Regiment of Sacconai, raised for the service of Holland. On the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession another Swiss Regiment was raised for the service of Savoy at the expense of the English Treasury, and for long it was known as the "Queen's Regiment," owing to its being paid by Queen Anne of England. After the peace of Utrecht its maintenance had

to be borne by Savoy, and it took the name of its Colonel Kalbermatten, under which title it had a long and famous career.

The same wars brought Austria to the Swiss soldier-market ; in 1691, the Emperor concluded a capitulation with the Cantons of Berne, Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, for the service of a Regiment 1,700 strong, formed in two battalions of five companies each. The Colonel, Von Burkli, of Zurich, afterwards became a General-Field-Marshal in the Imperial service. The details of the organization of Von Bürkli's Regiment may serve as a sample of the Regimental organization of the time. The Regimental staff was a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major, a Quarter-Master, 2 Sergeant-Majors (one for each battalion) a Chaplain, a Surgeon-Major, a Drum-Major, and a Provost-Major.

Each Company had 5 officers and 19 non-commissioned officers : viz., a Captain, a Captain-Lieutenant, a Lieutenant, a Sub-Lieutenant, and an Ensign : a Field-Webel, or Company Sergeant-Major, 3 Sergeants, a Quarter-Master-Sergeant, a Master-at-Arms, and a Standard Bearer ; all three ranking as Sergeants ; 6 Corporals and 6 Anspessades, or Lance-corporals ; 138 Privates, of whom 16 were Grenadiers, 24 Halberdiers, and 98 Musketeers : 4 Drummers and 1 Fifer ; a Surgeon, a clerk, and a Sutler : 170 all told, officers, rank and file and followers. On parade and in the field, all the grenadiers of the battalion were formed into one Company, commanded by the Senior Captain Lieutenant, and all the Halberdiers into another Company commanded by the Junior Captain.

Von Bürkli's regiment was employed to garrison the Imperial cities in Germany, and disbanded after the peace of Ryswick.

On the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Emperor again hired two Swiss regiments. These had no Halberdiers ; the rank and file were all armed with muskets and bayonets, and the Grenadiers for the first time wore bear-skin caps.

The Swiss regiments in Holland seem to have borne the brunt of the fighting whenever the Dutch army was engaged. They fought in all Marlborough's battles, and the Swiss Brigade had a great share in deciding the fortune of the day at Oudenarde, outflanking and rolling up the left of the French line. At Malplaquet they carried the French entrenchments by storm, under a murderous fire, losing two thirds of their officers, and one half of their men put *hors de combat* ! The regiment of Metrail had everyone of its officers killed or wounded, and was commanded by an ensign at the close of the battle. The regiment of Albemarle suffered nearly as

heavily, and had only a Lieutenant left to lead it. The Swiss regiments in the French Army, among whom were the Gardes Suisses, also suffered severely on that day, so that the slaughter of Malplaquet filled all Switzerland with mourning.

Equally fatal were the campaigns against the Turks, in which Swiss soldiers now took part as auxiliaries of the Venetians. The Signoria had hired a division of Hanoverian troops to attempt the conquest of the Morea; and in 1686 they obtained a Swiss regiment 2,400 strong, divided into three battalions under the command of Baron de Roll, of Soleure, whose ancestor had raised a regiment for the service of Spain a century earlier, and whose descendant raised one for the service of England a century later. The Army which the Venetian Captain-general Morosini mustered at Santa Maura for the invasion of the Morea, presented a most extraordinary medley of the methods of ancient and modern warfare: the knights of Malta, with the white eight-pointed cross emblazoned on the scarlet surcoats which they wore over their steel panoply; the Hanoverian grenadiers in their red uniforms; and the Slavonic soldiers of Venetian Croatia and Dalmatia, with their semi-oriental dress and weapons.

At the close of the campaign of 1687 only 240 men remained of the 2,400 with which Baron de Roll had landed in the Morea. The brunt of all the fighting fell on the Swiss and Germans, who were the only reliable troops in the army; and the unhealthy climate was as fatal to the Alpine mountaineers as the Turkish scimitar. The remnant of the corps returned to Switzerland, and the Signoria in vain applied to the Cantons for another to replace it. At length, through the mediation of the Pope, they obtained a fresh regiment from the Catholic Cantons, commanded by Colonel Heller. It mustered 3,200 men, and was formed in 4 battalions. It took four months to raise and equip it; it was then marched to Venice, where it embarked for Zara on the Dalmatian coast. Here it was drilled and disciplined all through the winter months, and in the spring it was embarked for the Morea. It suffered heavily both by sickness and the sword, at the unsuccessful siege of Negropont. Two of its battalions served as marines on board the Venetian fleet. It was afterwards re-united at Zara, where it remained in garrison till its five years engagement terminated, when it was brought to Venice and thence marched home.

When the Venetians were suddenly attacked by the Turks in 1716, they hurriedly applied to the Swiss for the hire of three regiments, of three battalions each, for a term of five years. The regiment of Muller had its 1st battalion raised by Berne and Zurich, and its 2nd and 3rd by the Catholic Cantons

between them. The regiment of Stokar was raised by the minor Protestant Cantons, and the regiment of de Salis by the Grisons. All these regiments wore blue uniforms faced with scarlet and laced with silver, with steel gorgets and ornaments, buff leather accoutrements and brown leather pouches. But the Morea had already been re-conquered by the Turks in the brief campaign which is now chiefly remembered from Byron's *Siege of Corinth*, and the Swiss regiments arrived at Corfu only after the Turks had raised the siege, discomfited by the genius of Count Schulemberg, and disheartened by the fearful losses they had sustained in their desperate and fruitless assaults. The Swiss remained in garrison there till their five years' engagement was up, when they were immediately re-formed into regiments for the service of Spain in Italy. One of these regiments greatly distinguished itself in the Spanish service under the name of the Regiment of Niederost, particularly at the re-capture of Oran from the Algerines. It was transferred from the Spanish to the Neapolitan Army in 1748, when its Colonelcy became hereditary in the Wirz family, by which name it was afterwards known.

The levy of Swiss troops in 1716 was the last made for the service of Venice: the Signoria, discouraged by their misfortunes, gave up all hopes of recovering their lost possessions in the Levant, while the growing weakness of the Ottoman Empire confined the Turks entirely to the defensive.

In spite of Shakespeare's authority, it does not appear that the Kings of Denmark ever entertained a Swiss Guard; but in 1696, Frederick the Third, Elector of Brandenburg and first King of Prussia, Sovereign Prince of Neuchatel and Vallengin, raised a Company of Swiss Halberdiers for his personal guard, on the model of the Cent Suisses de la Garde of Le Roi Soleil, of whose pomp and state he was an ardent admirer and a sedulous imitator. They were dressed, like the Papal Swiss Guards, in mediæval costume, the colours being blue slashed with yellow. His son, Frederick William I, was a man of a very different stamp, frugal and practical: on his accession to the throne, in 1713, he at once discarded his father's French fashions and expensive establishments and disbanded the parti-coloured company. This was the only Swiss Corps ever engaged by Prussia; and, as has been seen, Austria also employed their services very sparingly. The Germans were equal to the Swiss in steadiness and discipline, two qualities that were conspicuously lacking to the Latin Nations, who were the chief consumers of Swiss "food for powder." France, Spain, Naples, and Sardinia, all maintained Swiss regiments as an integral and permanent part of their armies, while the only northern nation that did so were the Dutch. When

the Infant Don Carlos of Spain became King of Naples, in 1734, he employed Swiss officers in the Spanish service to raise a Swiss regiment of Guards and two of the line for him ; and afterwards the regiment of Niederost was presented to him by the King of Spain. These four regiments remained in the service of Naples until the French Revolution and the conquest of Naples by the French, when it became impossible to recruit for them any longer in Switzerland, and the remains of them were drafted into the Swiss regiments of the English Army in Sicily. In 1743 the King of Spain hired four Swiss regiments for permanent employment in the Spanish Army. That famous army, which had been the terror of Europe under Alva and Parma, had sadly deteriorated, and its former fame was now maintained mostly by its Swiss, Walloon, and Irish regiments. In the incessant wars waged for the mastery in Italy during the whole of the eighteenth century between France, Spain and Austria, the Swiss troops in the service of Spain and Naples played a leading part.

Though his motto was "*Point d' argent, point de Suisse*," and he did not scruple to shed the blood of his fellow-countrymen in earning the pay of the Power that he served, the Swiss soldier no more considered himself a mercenary than does the British officer of the Hyderabad Contingent, who draws his pay from the Nizam's treasury. He looked upon himself as an auxiliary serving in the army of an allied Power. He was governed by Swiss law, fought under the Swiss flag, and marched to a Swiss tune. The capitulations always provided that the Swiss should be amenable neither to the Civil nor the Criminal jurisdiction of the country they served in, but should be tried and sentenced only by their own officers. So strictly was this rule observed, that the French officers of the Company of the Cent Suisses were not allowed to sit on Courts-martial on their own men, but officers were brought in from the Campagnier Générale of the regiment of Swiss Guards to make up the regulation number. There was an official on the Staff of every Swiss regiment called a "Grand Judge," who seems to have combined the functions of a Civil Magistrate with those of a military Judge-Advocate. The Articles of War were comprised in the Caroline Code framed by the Emperor Charles V, and contained such ancient and barbarous punishments as amputation of the hand for drawing a weapon on a superior, cutting out the tongue for blasphemy, &c. Discipline was strictly maintained, and enforced by the stick, though corporal punishment was not allowed in French regiments. In the Swiss regiments it was inflicted in two ways—by blows with a stick, as was the fashion till lately in the Austrian service, or by the "*Gassenlaufen*," or Running

the Gauntlet. Minor punishments were imprisonment and extra guards.

Courts-martial were composed of Subalterns and Sergeants and presided over by a Captain, who occupied much the same position as the British Superintending Officer of a native Court-martial in India, and had no vote on the finding or sentence. These were submitted to a Court of Revision composed of Captains, who could confirm or annul the finding, and commute or remit the sentence, but could not enhance it. The Colonel had no power of revision. Courts-martial were only resorted to on grave occasions, as officers had extensive powers of summary punishment.

The regiments furnished by a single Canton were entirely Protestant or Catholic, as the case might be ; for at the Reformation, the vote of the majority of the inhabitants had decided the religion of the Canton, and the luckless minority had to conform, or to depart elsewhere. But most of the regiments were mixed, having Companies of both Catholics and Protestants, and these had always both a priest and a pastor as chaplains. The Company of the Cent Suisses was the only Swiss Corps in France to which no Protestant could gain admission. Louis Quatorze, in spite of his bigotry, paid every consideration to the feelings of his Swiss Protestant soldiers, from motives of policy. Town and Fort-Majors were instructed to place buildings at the disposal of the regiments for Protestant services, and priests were strictly forbidden to meddle with the religion of any Swiss soldiers in hospitals or infirmaries. As none but Catholics could be admitted to the Hotel des Invalides at Paris, Swiss Protestants disabled in the French service were granted a money pension instead. When the Host happened to pass by a French regiment on the march, or on parade, line was formed, the ranks were opened, and the officers and men took off their hats and hung them on the hilts of their side arms. All then presented arms, and knelt down till the Host had passed by, but the Swiss Protestants were excused from the kneeling part of the ceremony. If a Swiss officer or soldier met the Host in a place where he could not avoid it by going into a house or shop, he must stand still with his hat in his hand until it had passed.

In Spain there was constant trouble on account of religion. Swiss regiments had long served Spain, in the Netherlands and the Milanese, but none were brought into Spain itself until 1664. The priests and people were so indignant at the presence of Protestants on their sacred soil, that the King was constrained to dismiss them all, first offering them inducements to change their religion, but they indignantly refused his offers. The regiments were re-formed with Catholics only. In the

Swiss regiments in Naples, no Protestants were enlisted, while in the service of Holland no Catholics were allowed. But in Austria, Sardinia, and Venice, as well as in France, the religions were mixed in most regiments.

The formation of the regiments of course varied greatly : in those on the permanent establishment in France, Spain, Holland, Naples and Sardinia it generally conformed to that of the native regiments. The Gardes Suisses in France had 4 battalions of 4 companies each, one company in each battalion being Grenadiers. The usual formation of a regiment on a peace footing was in two battalions, but in the Sardinian service they had three battalions. There was always a company of Grenadiers to each battalion. In France and Naples the Grenadier companies were permanent units, but in Holland, Spain, and Sardinia the old practice was retained of keeping the Grenadiers on the strength of the battalion companies in which they were mustered and paid, while for drill and duty they formed a separate body. The Grenadier officers were selected by the Colonel from all the officers of the regiment, and they in turn picked their men from the battalion companies. In most services Grenadiers received extra pay ; in France the Grenadier officers received no higher rate of pay than others, on the ground that their increased chances of distinction and promotion already compensated them for their increased risks.

The Grenadiers, divided into half-companies, were stationed on each flank of the battalion in line, and formed the advanced and rear-guards in column.

The promotion of officers was partly by seniority, partly by selection, which included purchase and favour, as well as merit. It was also partially by Cantons, vacancies in a Canton company having to be filled by a native of the same Canton. Thus, in the Valaisan regiment in the service Sardinia (formerly "The Queen's") two-thirds of the Field officers, and eight out of the twelve Captains were required to be citizens of the Canton of Valais. In the Bernese regiment in the same services, eight of the companies were reserved for burgesses of Berne, while the Captains of the others might be citizens of the Vaud or of other territories subject to Berne.

The Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels had companies in the regiment, a custom dating from the time when they had been only Captains with brevet rank. The Major, who had originally performed the duties of an Adjutant, and had by a natural process of evolution come to be the third officer in the regiment, had no Company. The Companies of the Field officers were commanded by Captain-Lieutenants.

Officers of Corps of Guards had great privileges. In the

Campagnie des Cent Suisses de la Garde, the Captain ranked as Colonel in the army; the two Lieutenants also ranked as Colonels and the two Ensigns as Lieutenant-Colonels; the two Aide-Majors (Adjutants) and the Exempts (Sergeants) ranked as Captains.

The Captain of this Company was always a Frenchman; half of the Officers and Sergeants were French, and half Swiss: the men were all Swiss by birth and Catholic by religion.

In the regiment of the Gardes Suisses, all the Captains ranked as Colonels in the Army, the Lieutenants as Lieutenant-Colonels, and the Sub-Lieutenants and Ensigns as Captains; and the officers of the Regiments of Swiss Guards in Holland and Naples enjoyed similar privileges.

In 1754 the old system of promotion by companies up to the rank of Captain was abolished in Naples, and the officers for each regiment were placed on one regimental list for promotion, as is the custom now-a-days.

Ample information regarding the services, formations, interior economy, dress and equipment of all the Swiss Regiments *à l'Etranger* in the last century may be found in the works of the Baron de Zurlauben and Monsieur May of Romainmotier. The former, who was a Captain of the Gardes Suisses, and a Brigadier-General in the French army, wrote a history of the Swiss troops in the service of France, in 8 volumes, published at Paris in 1751. He afterwards added an appendix containing the Military Code and an account of the peculiar customs in use in the Swiss regiments. M. May's work was more comprehensive and dealt with the whole military history of Switzerland, with detailed accounts of all the Swiss regiments in foreign armies, and lists of their Colonels, down to the date of publication at Lausanne, in the year 1778. The details which follow are taken from M. May's comprehensive work. When it was issued the Swiss troops in the service of France consisted of the Campagnie des Cent Suisses de la Garde, the Regiment of the Gardes Suisses, and 11 Regiments of the Line, of 2 battalions each. The Cents Suisses had three orders of dress: the Court or gala dress consisted of a black velvet beret with a white plume, a starched ruff, a doublet and trunk hose of the Royal colours of royal-blue, slashed with crimson, white stockings and white rosettes in the shoes.

The parade dress was a three cocked hat laced with gold, royal blue coat with gold lace, and scarlet facings, vest, knee-breeches, and stockings. When the Court was in mourning the officers and sub-officers wore black uniforms.

The arms carried with the above two orders of dress were halberts and rapiers. The field service dress was that of a Grenadier Company: bear-skin caps, white leather accoutre-

ments and white spalterdashes, or long gaiters, were worn with this dress; the arms were a musket and bayonet, and a large sabre.

The colour of the company was blue, quartered with the white Swiss Cross, on which was inscribed the motto "*Ea est Fiducia Gentis.*" In the 1st and 3rd Cantons were the Royal crown and cipher in gold embroidery: in the 2nd and 4th Cantons the device of a golden rock, beaten by the waves of a silver sea.

The Gardes Suisses had scarlet uniforms with royal blue facings and silver lace and buttons. The Colonel-General's company, which was always the 1st Fusilier Company of the 1st Battalion, carried as its colours the white flag of France, studded with the golden lilies; the other colours bore the white Swiss cross on a ground of the colour of the livery of the Colonel-General of the Swiss and Grisons, with red, blue, and purple flames in the four Cantons. These flames or rays, which radiated from the border with their points in the centre of the flag, were the favourite device on Swiss regimental colours; they sometimes denoted the Canton to which the regiment belonged: the flags of Bernese regiments had red and black flames, and some of them may be seen to-day in the historical Museum at Berne.

The regiments of the Line, called by the French *Les petits Suisses*, to distinguish them from the Swiss Guards, had red uniforms, with silver lace and buttons and facings of various colours. Bernese regiments generally affected black velvet facings.

The Swiss troops in Naples were dressed in scarlet, with facings of royal blue and silver lace, and were remarkable for the richness of their uniforms. The regiment of Guards had three orders of dress: a Court dress, a parade dress, and a field service dress: the latter was the same as the full dress of the regiments of the Line. The colours of these regiments were brilliant with flames of rainbow hues; the colour staves of the Guards were surmounted by a golden *fleur-de-lys*, and were covered with red velvet: those of the Line regiments were covered with blue velvet.

The Swiss troops in the service of Spain, Sardinia and Holland wore blue uniforms laced with silver and faced with red, orange, or yellow; the flag of the Colonel's company was always the flag of the sovereignty when the regiment was serving; thus in Spain it showed the castle and crown, in Naples the *fleur-de-lys*, in Holland the sheaf of seven arrows bound together, which was the device of the United Provinces. The flags of the other companies were either the colours of the Canton or the Colonel's livery. In the regiments in Spain the colours bore the red cross of Burgundy, instead of the

white Swiss cross ; and the regiment of Wirz in the service of Naples always continued to fly this red cross, which it had adopted when it was the regiment of Niederost in the service of Spain.

Grenadiers wore bear-skin caps, backed with cloth of the colour of the regimental facings, and garnished with silver or white cords and tassels.

The Swiss regiments in the Australian service wore French grey or dark-grey uniforms with scarlet facings and silver lace.

The tufts and tassels, of the hats, sword-knots, and silk fringe of the epaulettes of subalterns and sergeants were generally of a uniform colour in each army ; blue and gold in France, purple and silver in Spain, orange and silver in Holland, blue and silver in Sardinia, and red and silver in Naples. Surgeons and their mates generally wore French grey, faced with scarlet and laced with gold. Chaplains also wore gold lace. Drummers and Fifers wore the Colonel's livery. Belts were of buff leather pipe clayed and pouches of black leather, those of Guards and Grenadiers being usually ornamented with metal devices. In the Swiss Guards of Naples the sergeants had their pouches covered with blue velvet trimmed with silver embroidery.

Grenadiers were generally armed with sabres, in addition to their muskets and bayonets. In the Dutch service the men of the Battalion Companies were armed with a short sword. Company officers carried spontoons or hallpikes, and sergeants had halberts, but the officers and sergeants of Grenadier companies had fusils and bayonets and sabres, instead of swords. Only in the regiment in Naples the officers carried no other weapon but their swords. When the Gardes Suisses in France marched past, their Captains marched on foot armed with their spontoons or fusils ; but when manœuvring they were mounted, and armed only with their swords.

Only regiments of Guards had bands of music, and they were limited to 16 Musicians : 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 4 hautboys and 4 clarionets. Regiments of the Line had no music but their drums and fifes.

It is said that the tune of "Le Ranz des Vaches" was forbidden to be played in the Swiss regiments, as it excited in the men an uncontrollable desire to re-visit their native mountains and so led to desertions.

The Trabants wore the livery of the regimental Colonel, and were armed with halberts. They had become in later times the personal servants of the Captain, while they were mustered and paid as soldiers. Each Swiss regiment in Naples had six Trabants for the Colonel, and four for the

Lieutenant-Colonel included in its *plana major*, or regimental staff, and two in each company for the benefit of the Captain.

There were also in every Swiss company, or on its rolls, "paye-mortes," or "men of straw," for whom pay and rations were drawn as if they were effective. The capitulation for the hire of a regiment always stipulated that there should be two or more paye-mortes in each Company *au profit du capitaine*. Trabants and pay-mortes were finally abolished in the Swiss regiments in the French service in 1771.

Six battalions of Swiss were lent by Holland to England during the Jacobite rebellion of 1715; but they did not arrive in Scotland until the battle of Sheriffmuir had been fought and the danger was practically over. Their blue uniforms and moustaches created great surprise among the natives. They remained in Scotland until the country was entirely pacified, and then returned to Holland.

At the outbreak of the seven years' war King George the Second commissioned Jacques Prevôt or Prevôt of Geneva to raise a Swiss regiment of four battalions for the British service. Prevôt had been a subaltern in Sardinia and afterwards Captain of a Company in the service of Holland, of which he had made his brothers—Augustine and Mark—Captain-Lieutenant and Lieutenant, respectively: he now made them Lieutenant-Colonel and Major of the regiment he was raising for the King of England. He took great pains in the formation and equipment of the regiment, and procured the services of many veteran officers and soldiers; but when it was ready for inspection in 1756, the money for its maintenance was not forthcoming! The opposition in Parliament had succeeded in preventing the necessary funds being placed at the King's disposal. The dilemma was surmounted by making two of the battalions into a 5th and 6th battalion of the Royal American Regiment, then a Colonial Corps, afterwards the Sixtieth Regiment of the Line and now the King's Royal Rifle Corps.

The other two battalions were transferred to the service of the Hon'ble East India Company and transported to Madras, whence, being despatched in open boats along the coast to Cuddalore, many of them were captured by a French man-of-war.

Some of the Swiss officers of these troops rose to high rank and made their names famous in the British service: the three brothers Prevost rose to be general officers, and received grants of land in Canada as a recompense for their services. Frederick Haldimand of Yverdon, who had been Lieutenant-Colonel of the Swiss Guards at the Hague, became Colonel of the Royal American Regiment, and afterwards

rose to be a Lieutenant-General, and Governor-General of Canada during the American War of Independence.

Louis Bouquet, of Berne, became Brigadier-General and died Governor of Pensacola. Polier, of Lausanne, became Major-General and commanded the troops at Fort St. George, Madras ; and Gingsen, of Berne, distinguished himself in the war against the French in the Carnatic. On the other side, Paradis, another Swiss officer, commanded the French on the memorable day at San Thomé, when the army of the Nawáb of Arcot was scattered by a single European battalion, and the delusion of the military strength of the Mogul Empire in India was dispelled for ever.

During the great wars of the eighteenth century there were sometimes as many as from 50,000 to 60,000 Swiss serving in Foreign Armies ; and when May published his book in 1788, there were, in round numbers, 38,000 Swiss permanently employed abroad, distributed as follows : France had a regiment of Guards of 4 battalions and 11 regiments of the line of 2 battalions, or 26 battalions in all, aggregating 14,000 bayonets, Holland had a regiment of guards and 6 regiments of the line, or 14 battalions with 10,000 bayonets : Spain had 4 regiments and 8 battalions of 5,000 bayonets : Naples had a regiment of Guards and 3 of the line, with 6,000 bayonets : Sardinia had 2 regiments with 6 battalions, mustering 3,000 bayonets, and 12 field guns. There were, besides, 6 companies of Swiss Halberdiers employed as Palace Guards ; one in the service of the kings of France, one in that of the king of Sardinia, and 4 in that of the Pope, aggregating 700 officers and men.

In all this number of men there was not a single horse-soldier. The French Revolution, which swept away so many old landmarks, and completely changed the aspect of affairs in Europe, was fatal to the Swiss soldier's trade. The thrones that had been surrounded by Swiss Guards were overturned and their defenders massacred or disbanded : the governments of the Cantons became democratic, and the old aristocracy which had been the chief maintainer of, and the chief gainer by, the traffic in recruits, lost all its power and influence. But, above all, the general introduction of conscription into all the countries of Europe completely superseded the old system of recruitment, and destroyed the demand for mercenary soldiers. The practice of capitulations lasted on until the middle of the nineteenth century ; but the customers of the Cantons were no longer the Lords of Legions, but petty tyrants who hoped to escape the resentment of their subjects by hedging around their tottering thrones with Swiss bayonets.

When the Revolution broke out, the whole French Army sided with the people except the foreign regiments of Swiss,

Germans, and Irish who remained the only bulwark of the throne. The Swiss regiments of Salis-Samade, Diesbach, and Chateaufvieux were among the troops which were drawn around Paris in the vain hope of overawing the populace ; and a company of Salis-Samade, or *Vieux Salis* (as it was commonly called, to distinguish it from the *Jeune Salis*, the Grison regiment of Salis de Marschlinz), was sent to garrison the Bastille, where a battalion would have been none too many. After the fall of that fortress, the timid king withdrew the troops from the neighbourhood of the capital. Had Louis XVI acted like King Ferdinand of Naples on a similar occasion and sent his 40 Swiss and German battalions into the streets of Paris on the 12th July, 1789, the French Revolution might have had a different history. But the House of Bourbon was fated to fall, and the fidelity and courage of its Swiss soldiers only involved them in the common ruin.

A mutiny among Swiss troops was a most rare occurrence ; but the soldiers of the regiment of which the Marquis of Sullis-Chateaufvieux was proprietary Colonel, considering themselves wronged by their officers in some matter of interior economy, and incited by their French companions in arms, mutinied at Nancy, and placed their officers in confinement. They were subdued by the Marquis de Bouille at the head of some loyal troops among which was the Swiss regiment of Vigier and Castella, after a sanguinary struggle. Some of the ringleaders were executed, and others sent to the galleys ; but these were later liberated by the Republicans. The regiment returned to its allegiance and behaved well afterwards.

In 1792 the Bernese Regiment of Ernest (*ci-devant* Erlach) which was in garrison at Aix, was surprised and disarmed by the National Guards and the mob. The Zurich Regiment of Steiner at Lyons was threatened with a similar fate, but it prepared to defend itself by force of arms. The authorities of Berne were indignant at the attack upon their regiment, and recalled it from the ungrateful service in which it had distinguished itself for more than a century. Major Von Wattenwyl, or de Watteville, who was commanding it at the time, led the regiment back to Berne, where it was disbanded, he and most of his officers and men entering the service of Austria and eventually that of England. The Cantons sent orders to all the regiments in France to guard against similar attacks, and to resist them by force of arms.

In June of the same year, the National Assembly dissolved the *Maison du Roi* in which the company of the hundred Swiss was included. On the 10th August the Regiment of the *Gardes Suisses* was destroyed while heroically defending the Palace of the Tuileries against the overwhelming numbers of

their treacherous and cowardly assailants ; and ten days afterwards the Assembly decreed the dismissal from the French service of all the Swiss regiments in France, and repudiated the arrears due to the Cantons on the capitulations, which amounted to a large sum. However, all these arrears were afterwards honourably paid up by King Louis the XVIII, after the Bourbon Restoration in 1814. The regiments were led back into Switzerland by their officers, and were there disbanded.*

Some of the soldiers accepted the offers of enlistment made to them in the new levies of the Republican Government ; but the majority of them sought service in other lands. A corps of Swiss Guards for the Emigré Princes in the Army of the Rhine was formed from the men of Chateauvieux ; those of De Courten's Valaisan and De Salis' Grison regiments joined the regiments of their countrymen in Spain and Piedmont ; and most of the rest flocked to join De Watteville and his men in the service of Austria, where they were formed into 4 double-battalion regiments equipped as Jägers and clothed in green uniforms.

They were paid for by England, though they served with the Austrian Armies ; they fought through all the campaigns against the French Republicans, and when they were disbanded after the peace of Tuneville, their battalions were reduced to skeleton cadres. From their debris Colonel DeWatteville raised a regiment of two battalions for the service of England, which was joined by many officers and men who had been with him in the Bernese regiment in France. The regiment was marched to Venice, and transported thence to Sicily, which was then occupied by a British Army. It was organized like the Regiment de Roll which had been raised in 1795 for England from Swiss soldiers disbanded from the Armies of France and Holland, by Baron Louis de Roll of Soleure, who had been Captain and Colonel in the Gardes Suisses and had afterwards joined the *émigré* army on the Rhine. His Lieutenant-Colonel was Durler of Lucerne, one of the defenders of the Tuileries on the 10th August, who was afterwards killed in the battle of Alexandria, and buried at the foot of Pompey's Pillar, as is recorded in the epitaph on his cenotaph in the cloisters of the Hofkirche at Lucerne. The regiment consisted of 1800 men, in 2 battalions of 9 companies each, *viz.*, 1 Grenadier, 1 Jäger, and 7 battalion companies. The regimental staff was a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, 2 Aide-Majors, 2 Sous-aide-Majors, two Adjutants, 2 Ensigns, a Quarter-Master, a Surgeon Major and 2 Assistant-Surgeons, and a Catholic and a Protestant Chaplain. The uniform was red, like that of the British Infantry of the Line, with silver lace. The Jäger company was dressed in green and armed with rifles. The colours were red

with the white Swiss cross, and were the gift of the noble ladies of Soleure. The regiment was recruited and formed on Austrian territory, as the French were then dominant in Switzerland. It was embarked first for Corsica, which the English were trying to wrest from the French at the time, and it was afterwards continuously employed in the Mediterranean during the war.

The third Swiss regiment in the British service was the regiment de Meuron, which came over to them from the Dutch service in Ceylon in 1796. Count de Meuron of Neuchâtel had served his apprenticeship to arms in the Swiss regiment of Karrer, afterwards Hallwyle's, raised to serve as a Marine Corps with the French fleet during the seven years' war, for the Swiss had by this time quite surmounted their old prejudice against sea service. Count de Meuron was engaged in several sea fights against the English. At the conclusion of the war Hallwyle's regiment was broken up, and the Count got transferred to the Swiss Guards in which he rose to be Captain and Colonel. When Holland, irritated by the English claims to the right of search, joined France and Spain against her in 1781, the Dutch East India Company applied to the French War Office for the loan of a Swiss officer to raise a regiment for the protection of their Colonies in the East, and Count de Meuron was detailed for the service. He raised a regiment of two battalions in his native Canton of Neuchâtel. According to the custom which had just come into vogue, each battalion had two field-pieces and a detachment of artillerymen attached to it. The gunners were picked, like the grenadiers, from the whole battalion. The regiment was dressed in blue, with yellow facings and silver lace; and its head-dress, instead of the cocked-hat, was the black leather helmet with bearskin crest which had just come into fashion. The colours had black and yellow flames on a ground of the green de Meuron livery, quartered with the Swiss cross.

The regiment was marched to Brest, where it was embarked on French transports for the Cape of Good Hope, which it garrisoned alternately with Ceylon. It happened to be in the latter Colony when the French Republicans invaded Holland and overturned the Government. The Swiss regiments in the Dutch service were disbanded and the Stadtholder took refuge in England. The Dutch East India Company was bankrupt and its troops remained unpaid; the English invaded Ceylon, and two companies of de Meuron's regiment were made prisoners by them at Trincomalee. They offered to take the regiment into their own service, and the Stadtholder wrote out, releasing the regiment from its Dutch engagements and from its oath of allegiance to himself. The troops were only

too glad to accept the British offer, and a capitulation was drawn up between the Government of India and Count de Meuron. But some of the provisions were objected to by the British War Office, among others the tenure of companies by Field Officers, and Count de Meuron proceeded to London, where a fresh capitulation was concluded, and everything satisfactorily arranged, the Indian scale of pay and allowances quite reconciling the Field Officers to the loss of their companies. The regiment changed its uniform from blue and yellow to red with blue facings, and displayed the Union Jack in the upper inner Center of its colours. It was in garrison for some years in the Madras Presidency, and served in the Mysore war, at the battle of Malvilly, and at the siege and storming of Seringapatam. In 1807 it was brought to England, was stationed for some time in the Channel Islands, and then was sent to join the regiments of De Roll and De Watteville in Sicily. The Count de Meuron attained the rank of General in the British Army. An interesting history of the regiment was edited by one of his grand-nephews and published at Neuchâtel in 1885. It contains, besides the regimental records, the full text of the capitulations, list of the officers, letters written by some of them from India, with coloured plates of the uniforms and colours.

When General Buonaparte had conquered Piedmont and proclaimed the Cisalpine Republic, the Swiss regiments in the Sardinian service were transferred to the French army as Helvetic Legions of Italy. The King's company of Swiss Halberdiers was constituted a company of Gendarmerie à pied at Turin, and continued to wear its scarlet uniform with royal blue facings and silver lace and its huge cocked hats till it was finally broken up in 1802. The Helvetic Legions of Italy were almost destroyed in the defeats of General Joubert's army by Savaroff at Verona and Magnano, and the remnant of them were made prisoners in the capitulation of Mantua on the 30th July 1799.

The King of Naples had taken refuge in Sicily, where he was protected from the French arms by a British fleet and army. As he could no longer recruit his Swiss regiments from Switzerland, which had fallen entirely under the tutelage of France, he drafted what remained of them into the Anglo-Swiss regiments of De Roll and De Watteville which were stationed in Sicily. Spain was now the only country in which the Swiss regiments remained on their former footing. Switzerland itself was the theatre of wars, and was besides torn by internal dissensions; but the country regained peace and order under the ægis of Napoleon, who, under spacious title of Mediator of the Helvetic Confederacy, exercised absolute authority over the

Cantons. He prohibited the hire of Swiss troops to any other foreign Power, and concluded a capitulation for the supply of 16,000 men, formed in four regiments of 4,000 men each. Each regiment comprised 4 battalions, 3 being field and one a dépôt battalion. Each battalion had 9 companies, one of Grenadiers and eight of Fusiliers ; also two field guns and a detachment of artillery to work them. A Catholic and a Protestant Chaplain were attached to each regiment.

The Swiss regiments had hitherto been known by the names or titles of their Colonels, and this often makes their history difficult to follow, the same title being borne by different regiments at different times. The Swiss regiments in the service of France were numbered ; but the numbers were only used to mark their seniority in the line. In Holland their seniority was determined by the date of rank of their proprietary Colonel, and varied accordingly from time to time. Napoleon introduced numerical titles into his army, and the new Corps were known as the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Swiss Regiments.

The uniform was a red coatee, with yellow facings for the 1st Regiment, royal blue for the 2nd, black velvet for the 3rd, and sky-blue for the 4th. The lace was gold ; the rank and file had epaulettes of yellow worsted. White knee-breeches and black spatterdashes were worn.

The head-dress was a broad-topped chako, except for the grenadier companies, who wore bear skin caps. The armament and equipment were the same as for the French infantry of the Line.

The Emperor made a separate capitulation with the Canton of Valais for the hire of a single-battalion regiment of 960 of all ranks. It also was dressed in red with white facings. When Napoleon annexed the Valais to France, he made this regiment into the 2nd Battalion of the 11th French Regiment of Light Infantry.

Another Swiss battalion was raised from the Canton of Neuchâtel to serve as a Corps of Guards for Marshall Berthier, Napoleon's trusted and favoured Major-General (Chief of the Staff), who, under the victorious Empire, replaced the King of Prussia as Prince of Neuchâtel and Vallengin. The uniform was a yellow coatee with scarlet facings, and the battalion was nicknamed "*Les Canaris du Prince Berthier*" in the French Army. It accompanied its master into Spain, afterwards served in the disastrous Russian campaign, and was disbanded after the fall of Napoleon.

After the formation of these new Swiss regiments, the 1st Regiment was sent into Italy, while the other three were employed on garrison duty in France. The 1st Regiment formed part of the Army of Naples under Joseph Buonaparte and

Joachim Murat, and one of its battalions had the misfortune to cross bayonets with a battalion of De Watteville's Anglo-Swiss regiment at the combat of St. Euphemia, called by the English the battle of Maida. The French battalion was routed, its *chef de bataillon*, the Vandois Clavel was mortally wounded and made prisoner, and died in the hands of his captors and fellow-countrymen; several hundreds of its soldiers were also taken prisoners, and served to recruit the ranks of their victors and of their fellow-Swiss regiment of De Roll, also at that time stationed in Sicily. Both De Watteville's and De Roll's regiments had taken part in Sir Ralph Abercromby's successful campaign in Egypt, and afterwards in General Fraser's unsuccessful one, where De Roll's Swiss were terribly cut up in the unfortunate affair at Al Hamed, in which the English force was overwhelmed by the furious attack of the Turkish Cavalry. They were also employed to garrison Malta and other stations in the Mediterranean, but remained for the most part in Sicily during the long war, where they were eventually joined by the Swiss Regiment De Meuron. It is a striking proof of the influence of the British Naval Power on the fortunes of the war, that Murat, with an overwhelming French force in the kingdom of Naples, never ventured to cross the narrow Straits of Messina, which were patrolled by English men-of-war. He did, indeed, once make the attempt; but the disembarkation had hardly commenced when some English ships appeared, upon which the whole French flotilla incontinently fled to the nearest harbour of refuge, leaving one battalion, which had been already landed, to be made prisoner by the enemy.

Maida was not the only field of battle in which Swiss troops were found ranged in hostile ranks. When Napoleon seized on the Spanish Crown, he treated the four Swiss regiments in its service as if they were part of his own army. They, however, considered themselves bound to their former master, and two of the regiments succeeded in joining the patriot army in Andalusia, and had a large share in compelling the surrender of Dupont's army at Baylen, where a Swiss battalion on the French side was made prisoner, and served to recruit the ranks of its captors. These Swiss regiments continued to serve in the Spanish armies and signalised themselves by their courage and conduct during the Peninsular War. On the other hand, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Swiss Regiments of Napoleon's Army were sent from France into Spain, where they had a full share of the tedious, arduous, and inglorious warfare which extenuated the Military resources of the French Empire. One of these regiments shared in Marshal Junot's defeat by Sir Arthur Wellesley at Vimiera: another was involved in the capitulation of Baylen. But these rare reverses were more than balanced

by a brilliant record of victories and successes. Captain de Salis-Samade, with fifty men of the 2nd Regiment, heroically defended the barrack and Church at Fuente del Sanes for three days against overwhelming numbers of Spanish guerillas in October 1810, till he was rescued by a French relieving force. In 1811 the service battalions of all these regiments were recalled from Spain, and the 1st Regiment was brought from Italy to France, where the four regiments were formed in two Brigades in a Corps of La Grande Armée destined for the invasion of Russia.

They marched to Moscow, and were among the last corps to keep their formation and retain their discipline during the terrible retreat, and they fought in the battles in the Beresina. They left most of their numbers in the snows of Russia, and at the close of the campaign of 1813, they could only muster each one battalion for the field, and a half battalion of recruits at the dépôt.

In 1814 the 1st Regiment capitulated with the honours of war at Bremen, after having gallantly defended the town for two days against the attacks of 5,000 Russians and Prussians. The other three regiments were in garrison in the fortresses in Holland when Napoleon was forced to abdicate his usurped authority, and, under instructions from the Confederation, which had now openly sided with the allies, the Swiss troops transferred their services to the restored Bourbon dynasty, and, along with the rest of the French Army, took the oath of allegiance to Louis XVIII.

When Napoleon returned from Elba next year, the French troops, forgetting their recent oath, rejoined his eagles *en masse* : but the Swiss regiments refused to follow their example ; and, when the French troops in garrison with them raised the old joyous cry of " Vive l'Empereur," the Swiss preserved an obstinate silence. Napoleon warmly pressed the Swiss officers to declare for his cause : he used promises, cajoleries and finally menaces, in vain : the officers refused any answer to his overtures till they had obtained orders from the Confederacy through the mouth of one of their own number, whom they had despatched to Switzerland for instructions. When he returned he brought word that the troops were to return to Switzerland, and were on no account to accept service under Napoleon. The Emperor was furious, and ordered all the Swiss officers to quit France within twenty-four hours. They accordingly left, strictly enjoining the sergeants to keep the men to their duty, and not to allow them to enlist in the French service. When the officers had gone, Napoleon renewed his solicitations to the men, and succeeded in inducing about 5,000 out of the 6,000 to rejoin his eagles. These men were formed into a battalion of

his Foreign Legion, and fought at Waterloo. All who afterwards returned to Switzerland were punished by the authorities of their Cantons as deserters from their colours.

Napoleon perforce allowed the rest of the men to return home where they were rejoined by their officers and were led back to invade France in conjunction with the armies of the Allies. The regiments were finally disbanded at the conclusion of the war, and most of the officers and men joined the new regiments which the Cantons were raising for the service of Louis XVIII.

The general peace which followed upon Waterloo was equally fatal to the existence of the three Anglo-Swiss regiments. But for a long time they had been only nominally Swiss; at first their ranks were filled up by drafts from the disbanded Swiss regiments in the service of the King of Naples, and by Swiss prisoners from Napoleon's army, taken at Maida and elsewhere, or by deserters, allured by the higher rate of pay in the British army, or disgusted with the miseries of campaigning in Spain. Clandestine recruiting for them was also carried on in Switzerland. But it happened that when De Meuron's regiment was quartered in England, an officer obtained leave to visit his home in Switzerland, and, proceeding thither incognito by way of Paris, was discovered by Fouché's police in the society of known Royalists and other suspected persons, and was arrested and shot as a spy by order of Napoleon. This incident drew the Emperor's attention to the existence of the Anglo-Swiss regiments, and he prevailed upon Berne and the other Cantons to issue edicts recalling all their subjects who were serving in those regiments and threatening them with loss of civil rights and confiscation of their property if they persisted in remaining in the service of England. The Swiss officers treated these orders with contempt, and the authorities, who were themselves weary of the despotism of Napoleon, were not very zealous in enforcing the prescribed penalties: the edicts were rescinded immediately on the fall of the Empire. Meanwhile the ranks of the three regiments were filled up with deserters and prisoners of war of any nationality from Napoleon's armies, mostly Germans and Poles, but indeed nearly every nation in Europe was represented in their ranks. At the close of the war not one half of the men were Swiss. De Roll's Regiment was transported from Sicily to Spain, and there the remnant of Dillon's Irish regiment—the last remains of the famous Irish Brigade of the old French Royal Army—was drafted into it, and the regiment was henceforth officially known as the Regiment of Roll-Dillon. It served in Catalonia during the operations there against the French under Marshal Suchet, and had the word "Peninsula" inscribed on its colours. After the conclusion of the war it was stationed at Cornu and in 1816 was taken to Venice, and there disbanded.

The regiments of De Watteville and De Meuron were, in 1813, transported from Sicily to Canada to fight the Americans on the Great Lakes. The latter thus gained the distinction of being the only Swiss regiment that had served in all the four quarters of the globe. It had garrisoned the Cape of Good Hope under the Dutch, and had served in India under the English. Both regiments were actively engaged, during the short war in Canada, and after its conclusion they remained in garrison there until the general peace, and were disbanded in 1816. All the men who elected to settle in Canada received grants of land in the colony, and the greater number remained there : the rest were brought to England, and had their passage paid thence to their own homes.

Napoleon had re-established the post of Colonel-General of the Swiss and Grisons in the French Army, and had conferred it on his favourite—Marshal Berthier, whom he created Prince of Neuchatel ; and after the death of Berthier, which happened just after he had deserted Napoleon to join the Bourbons, Louis XIII conferred the appointment on his brother, the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X.

The restored Bourbons showed their appreciation of Swiss fidelity by every means in their power. The Company of Cent Suisses de la Garde was re-constituted with all its old honours and privileges, and with an increased establishment of 333 of all ranks : and it was ordered that all its privates should rank as sergeants in the Army. It was dressed and equipped as a company of Grenadiers, retaining its old uniform of royal blue-faced with scarlet and laced with gold ; but the cut and fashion of it were modernised.

King Louis XVIII signed two fresh capitulations with the Swiss Cantons, divided into two groups for the purpose. Each group engaged to furnish one regiment of guards of 3 battalions, and two regiments of the Line of 2 battalions each, making altogether in round numbers, 11,000 bayonets. Each battalion had 8 companies, of which one was of Grenadiers and one of Voltigeurs : in the Guards the 3rd battalion was a Light Battalion composed entirely of Chasseurs. The companies had 100 rank and file. Each regiment had two field-pieces and an artillery detachment to work them, of one Lieutenant, 4 Non-Commissioned Officers, 20 Gunners and 15 Drivers. The officers of the Guards retained the former privileges with regard to rank, and both officers and men had a higher rate of pay than in the Line regiments. The latter, again, had a higher rate of pay than their French fellow soldiers.

The regiments were numbered as the 7th and 8th Regiments of Foot Guards, and the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Swiss Regiments. They ranked after all the French regiments of the Guards and of the Line respectively.

The two Guards regiments were dressed in scarlet with royal blue facings and silver lace. The Line regiments wore red coats with royal blue or black velvet facings, some being distinguished by red piping round their cuffs and collars; the lace and buttons were gold. The rank and file of the Grenadiers were distinguished by red epaulettes; Battalion companies had them white or yellow, and Voltigeurs and Chasseurs green. White plumes were worn in the bear-skin caps of the Grenadiers, and in the broad-topped chakos worn by the rest of the battalion.

But the position of the Swiss regiments in France was now quite different from what it had been in former times. The French officers and soldiers were envious of their pay and privileges, and jealous of the favours shown to them by the King; and the people looked on them as foreign mercenaries whose hired bayonets were used to hedge about an unpopular dynasty. Manifestations of ill-will towards them were frequent, even on the part of French officers in the same garrisons.

In 1823 the Swiss troops formed part of the French army sent into Spain to repress the Liberal movement in that country. After this laudable purpose had been accomplished, the 1st and 2nd Swiss regiments served as guards to the rehabilitated despot at Madrid until 1828, when they were brought back to France, where the the Bourbon throne was again tottering to its fall. In July, 1830, it finally fell, and the blood of its Swiss defenders was again freely and fruitlessly shed in the famous three days' fighting in the streets of Paris.

The Government of the new King Louis Philippe annulled the capitulations, though they had nine years more to run, and sent back all the Swiss regiments to their own country, where their soldiers long continued to wear their red uniforms in the ranks of the blue clad Federal Militia. Many of the officers and men joined the Foreign Legion which was established in the French Army and which was afterwards transferred to the service of Queen Isabella of Spain to aid her in the Civil war against the Carlists.

The petty Italian princes were now the only customers of the Swiss mercenary-market left, and the troops which they hired from the Cantons on capitulation were no longer intended to defend their employer against foreign enemies, but to enable him to coerce his unwilling and recalcitrant subjects.

Growing murmurs were heard from the liberal and democratic parties in the Cantons at the misuse of Republican valour employed to rivet the fetters on the victims of tyranny and oppression: but the Swiss soldier never troubled himself about politics, or about the colour of the money that he pocketed as his pay: he was faithful to his salt, and he obeyed

orders : if the cause he fought for was a bad one, he could die for it as well as if it were a good one.

In 1820, King Francis of Naples received notice to quit from his subjects, but was re-instated by Austrian bayonets. After this experience he looked about for some more reliable force to uphold his throne than could be found in his native soldiery ; and he concluded capitulations with divers Swiss Cantons for the hire of four regiments. The 1st Regiment was furnished by the Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Unterwalden and Appenzell ; the 2nd by Fribourg and Soleure ; the 3rd by Schwytz, the Grisons, and the Valais ; and the 4th belonged entirely to Berne. There was a proviso in the capitulations that, as far as was possible, the troops should not be employed against their fellow-countrymen serving in other armies.

Each regiment had 2 Battalions, of 6 companies each, the flank companies being Grenadiers and Chasseurs. The strength of the Companies was 130 of all ranks. Each regiment had two 6-pounder guns with a Lieutenant and 39 gunners and drivers, and 24 horses for the gun and waggon teams. The gunners, as well as the Grenadiers and Chasseurs, were picked from the battalion Companies.

The regiments were numbered 1 to 4, but were commonly called by the names of their Colonels. The promotion in the first three regiments was partly regulated by the Canton to which an officer belonged, the companies belonging exclusively to different Cantons : in the 4th regiment, which was entirely Bernese, the promotion went by seniority only.

There was a Brigade Dépôt at Genoa, to which the recruits were marched in batches from their respective Cantons, to be embarked on board Neapolitan transports for conveyance to Naples.

The term of enlistment was for six years, with option of re-engagement. After twelve years' service the soldier could claim his discharge with a year's pay as gratuity ; but, if he elected to re-engage, he might retire with a pension equal to half-pay after twenty years' service ; to two-thirds of his pay after twenty-five years ; to three-fourths after thirty years, and to full pay after thirty-five years. Or he might elect, after twelve years' service, to be transferred to the Neapolitan Veteran establishment. Next to the British army, these Swiss troops in Naples were the best paid troops in Europe ; they were also among the best dressed, their uniforms being scarlet, with gold lace and buttons, and facings of various colours, those of the Bernese regiment being as usual of black velvet. King Francis had good reason to rely on his six thousand Swiss soldiers, who in 1848 saved the throne of his son and successor King Ferdinand, while all around the crowns

of Europe were rolling in the dust. All seemed lost at Naples: the city was in the hands of the mob and the National Guards; the native troops were inclined to join them; there was no hope of help from Austria, who had the Piedmontese and the insurgent Lombards on her hands. At the eleventh hour the terrified king, driven to bay, took the bold resolution of launching his eight Swiss battalions on the insurgent city. The streets had been barricaded, the houses loop-holed, the churches turned into redoubts, and the town swarmed with armed national guards headed by desperadoes from every country in Europe, who had hurried to Naples as a centre of triumphant and militant anarchy. The Swiss stormed the barricades, escalated the balconies of the fortified houses, blew open the gateways with their field-pieces, carried the churches by assault: they lost 6 officers killed and 13 wounded, and had more than 200 men put *hors de combat* in the desperate street fighting, but they cleared the city from end to end—"comme ils ont balayé cette canaille!"—and by the end of that bloody day there was no more talk of a Revolution in Naples!

But this most signal success of the Swiss regiments proved their greatest misfortune. In saving the life of a Bourbon-dynasty they had signed their own death-warrant. Their exploit, instead of being applauded, was execrated by their fellow-republicans who complained that Helvetic valour had been grossly misemployed. The authorities of the Confederation and the Cantons refused to renew the capitulations with Naples, condemned the system of hiring out troops to foreign Powers, and ordained that it should henceforth cease. But still for some years longer Switzerland continued to be a recruiting ground for foreign armies. In 1855 English recruiting agents appeared there, occupied in raising a Swiss Legion of two regiments destined to reinforce the British Army in the Crimea. At the same time the Emperor Louis Napoleon established recruiting bureaux on the French side of the Swiss frontier for the reception of Swiss recruits, from whom he formed a Swiss Legion of two double-battalion regiments of infantry and an independent battalion of Chasseurs. They were dressed and equipped like the French infantry, only the colour of their tunics was dark green instead of dark blue.

These troops never left France. The Anglo-Swiss regiments had reached Smyrna on their way to the front, when the news of the Peace of Paris reached them there. They were disbanded accordingly and the men were sent back to Switzerland. Louis Napoleon also broke up his Swiss Brigade, and re-formed it, from the men willing to continue in his service, in one regiment of two battalions, which was named the 1st

Foreign Regiment, and was sent to Algeria to fight the Kabyles. But it became increasingly difficult to obtain Swiss recruits to keep up the strength, and, at length, altogether impossible. It was therefore broken up, and the remains of it were incorporated in other foreign regiments. The Pope and the King of Naples continued to recruit in Switzerland and to attract the mountaineers to their service by large bounties and high rates of pay. In 1859 the Swiss soldiers in the Papal service again covered the Swiss name with obloquy by their brutality in the repression of the revolt at Perugia. *Punch* parodied a well known Swiss song in the words :—

" Am not I, am not I, say, a very Swiss boy,
 When I hire me to whoso will pay ?
 Tell smiles on Bomba's carbineer,
 And Pio Nono's halberdier :
 &c., &c."

But the battle of Castelfidardo soon after effectually disposed of all His Holiness' hired troops, Swiss or others : and the capitulation of Gaeta equally disposed of those still in the service of Naples. The almost universal introduction of universal liability to military service gave the *coup-de-grâce* to the demand for mercenary soldiers, which had been the origin of the Swiss system for their supply. The enlistment of soldiers for the service of a foreign Power is now forbidden in Switzerland : and Great Britain could no longer hope to raise Swiss regiments there, though she is very certain to need them as much as ever, as long as she sticks to the now antiquated system of recruiting by voluntary enlistment, which was the very *fons et origo* of the Swiss trade in mercenaries. Clandestine recruiting in Switzerland still supplies the few recruits necessary to keep up the strength of the company of parti-coloured halberdiers at the Vatican, now the sole representatives of the 50,000 Swiss Grenadiers and Fusiliers who during the European wars of the eighteenth century, carried their white cross colours to the front on all the battle-fields of Flanders and Lombardy, and who dyed with their heroic blood the rocks of the Dalmatian Coast and the sands of the Mauritanian desert.

ART. III.—HISTORY IN COPPER-PLATE.

IN India, whether in past ages or in comparatively modern times, the practice of writing important documents on paper, and of registering them in order to make them valid and binding, was not in vogue. Though the leaves of the palm-tree, the barks of the birch (*bhurja-druma* in Sanscrit), and other trees, and, occasionally, rough paper like the arseniuretted yellow-coloured kind used, at the present day, for writing MSS. and horoscopes upon, were used for writing purposes, yet the art of manufacturing the strong parchment-like paper used at the present day by attorneys for writing deeds, was not known in those times. Owing to the ignorance of the device of registering and other legal methods for lending validity and binding-power to documents, the validity of a deed was not recognised unless it was transcribed on some lasting material, such as metal or stone. The people of those times, when making a gift or grant of land, or selling a property, usually took care to have the *hibahnamah* (deed of gift), or the *bainamah* (sale-deed), engraved on plates or slabs of metal, and then to hand them over to the grantees or the vendees. Documents, securing titles to landed property used also to be drawn up in the same form. These metal documents usually contain the dates of the transactions evidenced thereby, as also other chronological facts. Validity was lent to them by annexing them to the metal seals of the donors or vendors. In the Museum at Nagpur in the Central Provinces there are eight copper-plate grants which illustrate, in a remarkable manner, some of the above-mentioned facts. The first grant (the donor's name is Luxumi Mohan), presented to the institution by Major Bloomfield, shows that this method was sometimes adopted for drawing up sale-deeds, as will appear from the following translation of the inscription engraved thereon :

"Be it blessed, in Samvat, 1135, (A.D. 1079) Thursday, the 14th of the latter half of Vaisakh, will the Victorious King Luxumi Mohan Tide Ralwaru Telugi Dewaklal Pravaktana, Ralaka, Singten, Davaradra, Paoul and Pampalu *enter into a transaction*. This day the village Manjin *was sold*. It *was purchased* for 272 Bhagar. Witnesses to this are Ta Probhakar, Ta Rama, Sa Varata Singh, Sa Roralal written by This plate also illustrates the fact that the practice of having these metal deeds attested by witnesses, like the modern method of attesting documents by marginal witnesses, was sometimes resorted to. Sometimes, this method

of attesting was replaced by that of annexing the seals of the grantors, or the vendors, as will appear from an examination of the plates numbered 2 and 3 in the same collection, the former discovered at Arni, the latter at Raipur, and both presented by Major Bloomfield. Number 2 comprises a set of three copper-plates, joined together, and has a seal attached; and Number 3 also contains the same number of plates, similarly joined, and has, in like manner, a seal attached. The copper-plate numbered 4 was transferred from the Jabalpur Museum, and nothing particular is known about it.

It is a curious fact that the plates upon which these records are inscribed are usually of copper, or of an alloy of copper and silver. Very rarely brass plates were used for the same purpose. The Lahore Museum is possessed of five brass plates bearing inscriptions in Persian and granting land, all of which were acquired by that institution through the good offices of Mr. E. Nicholl, Secretary to the Municipal Committee of Amritsar. All of them appear to have been granted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Khalsa, or Sikh, Dynasty in the Panjab, and they record the following historical and chronological facts: No. I is dated the 27th Baisakh, 1852 (Vikramaditya Era), signed by Sirdar Jodh Singh; No. II bears date the 3rd of Maghar, 1869 (V.E.), and is signed by Sirdar Diwan Singh; No. III is dated the 4th Maghar, 1873 (V.E.), and is signed by Faqir Mir Din and Sirdar Bisakha Singh; No. IV is dated the 1st Maghar, 1873 (V.E.), and is signed by Sirdar Bhag Singh, Sirdar Bisakha Singh and Faqir Mir Din; and No. V is dated the 14th Baisakh (V.E.), and is signed by Sirdar Jodh Singh.

There is one remarkable fact shown by the above-mentioned plates, *vis.*, that during the regime of the Khalsa Dynasty, the Vikramaditya Era was in use in the Panjab, and that all the documents are testified to by witnesses. It is to be noted here also that the sanad No. 6 in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal consists of three brass plates inscribed in Sanscrit and Canarese characters. It is from Chitradurg in the Carnatic. Now, it is to be inferred from the Lahore and the Chitradurg plates that brass was not only occasionally used for these purposes in comparatively modern times, but also that it was used in South India so far back as the fourteenth century of the Christian Era. Occasionally an alloy of copper and silver was used for the purposes of the seals, and, most probably, of the plates also. There is now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum a copper-silver seal* of Kumara Gupta II, found, at some time before 1886, at Bhitari in the Ghazipur district, N.-W.-P., and presented by Mr. J. Nicholls, C.S. Most probably the seal had once been affixed to a copper-

plate grant and had been soldered on to it. This seal is of great historical value, for the inscription on it gives, for the first time, a genealogy of the early Gupta dynasty (A. D. 319-530) which enumerates nine generations, instead of only the seven hitherto known.

Almost all the inscribed metal plates that have been hitherto discovered and described are of copper; perhaps because of its smooth surface and softness in yielding to the engraver's tools. In the grants made by royal personages, the reigning dates of the donors, as well as the names of the dynasties to which they belonged, are also given. In those times, it was a common practice for kings to endow Brahmans and other meritorious persons with grants of rent-free lands, either for the encouragement of learning, or for religious and charitable purposes. Similar grants were also made to *maths*, or monasteries, temples and other religious foundations; and, even at the present day, many such sanads must be in the possession of such institutions, which are jealously concealed from the scrutiny of the curious and are only brought out for the purpose of filing in court as documentary evidence in support of some title that may be set up in suits pending therein. Such cases frequently occur in the Bombay and the Madras Presidencies. Almost all the inscribed copper-plates that have been hitherto discovered are sanads of this description, which serve the purposes of title-deeds to land. The inscriptions engraved thereon record the fact of the occurrence of such transactions, the grantee's name and the grantor's name and dynasty or family.

In the ignorance of the art of manufacturing stout paper, and of the usual legal devices now adopted, this method of recording transfers of land on metal plates was almost universally resorted to in every part of India, not only in Bengal, but also in Madras, Bombay, the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab. That the dynasties which reigned in the western part of India before it came under the dominion of the Mahomedan rulers of this country, adopted this method, will appear from the large numbers of copper-plate sanads which have been brought to light in various parts of the Bombay Presidency. Any one may ascertain the truth of this by going through the various volumes of the Journals of the Bombay Literary Society and of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, wherein he will find described a large number of them granted by the kings who at various times reigned there. If a visitor to the Western Capital will pay a visit to the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal

* *Vide* Proceedings A. S. B. 1889, p. 194; J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII, pp. 84-103; also the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX, p. 354 ff.

Asiatic Society, arranged in its rooms in the Town Hall of that city, he will find there exhibited, among the images of Hindu gods and goddesses, Buddhist and Jain images, Buddhistic antiquities from Bramhapuri Hill near Kolhapur and from Sopara near Bassein, and inscribed stones and slabs, a collection of thirty-seven copper-plate grants mainly made up of contributions by private persons and by the Government of Bombay. Nothing particular is known regarding their history (only some of them have been described in the B. B. R. A. Society's Journal). But they record the names of the following kings and dynasties only viz., *Dahrasena* * (*Traikutaka Dynasty*); *Dharasena IV* † (*Vallabhi Dynasty*); *Govindraja* ‡ (*Rashtrakuta Dynasty*); *Amoghavarsha* (*Rashtrakuta Dynasty*); *Siladitya* § (*Vallabhi Dynasty*); *Siladitya IV* (*Vallabhi Dynasty*); *Siladitya I* (*Vallabhi Dynasty*); *Bhimadeva* (*Chalukya Dynasty*); *Singhana II* (*Yadava Dynasty*); *Ramdeva* (*Yadava Dynasty*); *Daddu II* || (*Gurjjara Dynasty*) and *Siladitya II* (*Vallabhi Dynasty*). Among them is a copper-plate grant, supposed to have been found in the vicinity of Ujein, and presented by Colonel Sandys, through the Lord Bishop of Bombay. The character is Sanscrit and the sanad appears to have been given by Vucyulludeva, a petty chief on the banks of the Nerbudda and a dependent of *Ajuy-upaldeva*, on the 13th day of the bright half of Kartick, in the year 1231 (A. D. 1174), to record that a village named Alluveegamb was granted on the 12th of the bright half of Kartick in the same year, on the occasion of performing the ceremony of *Oodyapun* (consequent on the fast observed by Vucyulludeva on the 11th of the bright half of *Kartick*), for the purpose of feeding fifty Brahmins daily (J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. iii, Part I, p. 181.)

Three sets of copper-plates of the Kadamba Kings of Banarasi presented by the Government of Bombay in 1876. They were discovered in the course of excavating the tank of Devagiri, Taluka Karajaghi. Set No. I, the smallest of the three in size, consists of three rectangular sheets of copper measuring about $5\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". It records the grant by King Mrigesavarma, the son of Santivarma, of the Kadamba Dynasty, in the 3rd year of his reign, of certain lands to the Supreme Divine *Arhat*. Set No. II consists of four sheets measuring about $8\frac{1}{4}$ " \times $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". It records the grant by the above mentioned king, of the village of Kâlavanga, after

* From Surat, described by Bhagban Lal Indrajī in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 364.

† *Idem*, Vol. X., p. 66.

‡ Described by Le Grand Jacob in *idem*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 and 100.

§ Described by V. N. Mandlik in *idem*, Vol. XI, pp. 331, 335-358, 337-34, 359-363.

|| Described by R. G. Bhandarkar in *idem*, Vol. X, p. 19.

dividing it in to three parts, to the Jinendra Arhat. Set No. III consists of three sheets about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". It records the grant by King Devavarma, the son of Krishnavarma, of the Kadamba Dynasty, of certain lands for the benefit of the worshippers of Arhat (J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. xii. pp. 300 ff. and Appendix). Two sets of copper land grants dug out of the earth in Western Guzerat and inscribed with characters intermediate between those of Asoka and of the Guptas. The first set records a grant of land, in the year (according to Anderson) Saka 330=A.D. 274, by King Dhara Sen II, son of Guha Sena, of the Vallabhi Dynasty, and is signed by his minister Skanda Bhatta. Set No. II records a grant of land, dated 370 Saka=circ: 314 A. D, by King Dhruva Sena III, of the Vallabhi Dynasty, and is signed by his minister, Madana Hala, son of the above-mentioned Skanda Bhatta. It consists of two plates—the second leaf being much worn, and, consequently, illegible—which are joined together with a copper ring surmounted by the seal of the Vallabhis—a bull, and, underneath it, the name Bhattaraka. (J. A. S. B., Vol. iv, p. 477; J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. iii, pt. II p. 213).

Two copper-plate grants issued by Dhruva Sena of the Vallabhi Dynasty in Samvat 310 (254 A.D.). These were discovered in the course of excavations at the site of the ancient city of Vallabhi, and were presented in June, 1868, by the Thakur Saheb of Wulla. They are very much corroded and scarcely legible (Vol. ix J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., pp. x lviii, xxiv; lxxx.)

Two copper-plate grants, found during excavations at the ruins of Vallabhi, and recording grants by kings of the Vallabhi Dynasty, were presented in October, 1868, by Colonel Anderson and Krishnajeel Luxuman Esq. (Vol. ix, pp. lxxiii, xxiv, lxxxi.)

A copper-plate grant of an ancient date, found in the village of Bhatera, of Kupperwanj Talooka. The inscription on it runs thus: "Khamdar Sha Ramchund Ameerchund, deposited here 1,51,000 worth of Mohurs, on Magsur Sud, 4th Samvat, 1332" (A.D. 1476). It was presented by the Collector of Kaira, through the Government of Bombay (Vol. ix, pp. xxvi, lxxxi).

A copper-plate grant recording the gift by King Dahrasena, of the Traikutaka family, of a village to a Brahman named Nannasvamin, in the year 207 (era unknown), and dug out at "Pardi" the head-quarters station of a taluka 50 miles south of Surat. It was presented by J. G. White, Esq., C. S., Collector of Surat (Vol. xvi, p. 346).

A copper-plate grant, recording a gift of land by Dandēsha Chikkadēva, a feudatory of King Singhana II, of the Devagiri Yadava Dynasty, to a colony of Brāhmans, in the Saka year 1160 for 1159 (A. D. 1237-8), and dug out in the village

site of Harilahalli in Karajgi Taluka of the Dharwar District. It was presented by the Bombay Government in 1880-82. (Vol. xv, p. 383 ; p. xxx ; p. xlii).

A copper-plate grant, recording the gift by King Dadda II of the Gurjjara Dynasty, in Śāka 417 (9th June 495 A. D.), of a village named Rachhchhavam, in the district Anukulésvara, in Gujerat, to a Rigvedi Bráhmaṇ named Náráyan of the Káśyapa Gotrā. It was discovered in a village in the Surat Collectorate by Mr. Manekji Adeji and presented by him to the Society. (Vol. x, p. 19, p. xi). Two copper-plates from the Bhojnugger Durbar, presented by Dewan Gowree Shankar through J. Burgess, Esq. (Vol. x p. xi ; xxvii).

One copper-plate presented by the Government of Bombay (Vol. x p. xxxviii).

One copper-plate presented by the Chief of Gondal, through Captain Phillips (Vol. x, p. xxxviii).

One large Copper-plate from Wullee, formerly called Bhimlapoor and afterwards Wulbapura, near Bhojnugger was presented by W. E. Frere, Esq., C.S., to the Museum of the B. B. R. A. S. (*Vide* Vol. v., p. 662). Another small copper-plate, found near Barunga in Guzerat, was also presented by Mr. Frere, (*Vide* Vol. v., p. 662).

A copper-plate inscription, dated Śāka 910, in the possession of a Jain at Kharepatan, was presented by the aforesaid owner to the B. B. R. A. Soc. in April, 1851. (Vol. v, p. 669).

The Hindu kings of Southern India also used to indulge in this practice, as will appear from an examination of the collection of seventy-three copper-plate grants now in the possession of the Archæological Section of the Government Central Museum at Madras. Notable among these are three grants of the Pallava Dynasty, of which No. 1 is described in *Epigraphia Indica*, Part I, and No. 3 in Vol. I, page 144 of Dr. Hultzsch's *South Indian Inscriptions*. The plates numbered I are a Prākṛit grant of the Pallava King Sivaskandavarman, and were purchased from Ghinnappa, a merchant of Hīrahadagalli, in the Bellāri District. They are eight in number, and numbered with the ancient numerical signs of the *akṣharapalli*; but, contrary to the ordinary usage, the figures are found on the first side of each sheet. The plates are held together by a single ring to which a nearly circular seal is attached. This seal shows, as emblem, an animal, which may be intended for a horse or deer. Below these stands the word Sivaskandavarmanah, the last three akṣharas of which are much defaced and doubtful. The first four *akṣharas* are perfectly plain, and leave no doubt that this part of the grant was in Sanskrit, just like the *mangala* at the end. On the otherwise blank outside of the first plate the word *dīham* is inscribed in very large letters.

The sanad No. 2 is a fragment of a Pallava copper-plate grant which consists of the initial portion of a Sanskrit inscription engraved on one side thereof. It measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; and the remaining plates of the sanad are not forthcoming. On the left of the inscribed side of the preserved plate is a hole for the lost ring, *which must have borne the royal seal*. The name of the king who granted this sanad is lost; but the fragment contains the name of the grantor's great-grandfather, Sri-Vira-Korchavarman,* whose laudatory epithets agree literally with those attributed to the Pallava Kings Skandavarman I and Skandavarman II, respectively, in two published copper-plate grants.† The plate ends with the first syllables of a compound with which, in the same two grants, the description of the next king opens. This close agreement and the archaic alphabet of the fragment leave no room for doubt that it was granted by one of those ancient kings of the Pallava Dynasty whose grants are dated from Palakkada,‡ Dasanapura§ and Kanchipura.¶ This view is further confirmed by the first line of the plate, according to which the king's order was dated "from the prosperous and victorious residence of Dasanapura." The inscription runs to the following effect: "Hail! Victorious is Bhagavat! From the prosperous and victorious residence of Dasanapura. The great-grandson of the Maharaja Sri-Vira-Korchavarman, who was very pious, who acquired by the power of his arm a mighty treasure of such penance as becomes the warrior caste; who ordained all laws according to the sacred scriptures; who was constant in virtue, and whose mind was immeasurable." Recently the same institution has acquired a Pallava grant, bought for the Government of Madras by Dr. Hultzsch, the Government Epigraphist, from the Dharma-Karta of Kuram, a village near Kanchipuram, which has been deposited in it. It is engraved on seven thin copper-plates in a bad state of preservation, and will be published in Dr. Hultzsch's forthcoming "*South Indian Inscriptions*."

The Hindu dynasties which, at different times, swayed the destinies of the North-Western Provinces of India, notably among them the Kings of Kanouj (Kānyakubja), are represented by nine land-grants now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. Six out of them were granted by Raja

* The name Korchavarman reminds one of the Korcha, Koracha or Korava caste who constitute the gipsies of Southern India.

† *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 51; Vol. VIII, p. 168.

‡ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 52. Dr. Burnell's identification of Palakkada with the modern Pulicat (*South Indian Paleography*, 2nd Edition, p. 36) is untenable, as the latter name is an Anglo-Indian corruption of Paraver kadu, the old forest of *vel* trees (*Aegle marmelos*).

§ *Ibid* Vol. V, p. 154.

¶ Conjeeveram of the present day. *Ibid* Vol. VIII, p. 169.

Govindachandra Deva of Kanouj. The sanad numbered 1 in the Lucknow collection is the Khôh copperplate* inscription of the Maharaja Hastin, dated in the year 163. The set consists of three plates measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $5\frac{5}{8}$ ". The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Maharaja Hastin. It is dated, in words thus: "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Kings," having been granted in the year 163, or A. D. 482-83, in the Mahā Asvayuga Samvatsara, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra. It opens with an invocation to the god Siva, under the name of Mahadeva; otherwise the tenor of the inscription is of a non-sectarian character. It records the grant by Maharaja Hastin of the Agrahāra of Kôrparika to certain Brahmans. These plates were discovered in 1852, near the village of Khôh, in the Nagandh State, in the Baghelkhand Division of Central India.

This is the second of the two grants, on two and three copperplates respectively, of King Hastin, which, bearing dates both in the Gupta era and the Jovian Cycle, are of great value for determining the initial year of that ancient era. The first grant, consisting of two plates, is now preserved in the Library of the Benares College. Sanad No. 2 is the Madhuban copperplate† of King Harshavardhana of Sthaneshvara, the modern Thaneswar, dated in the year 25. It is a single plate, measuring $20\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It records the transfer of the village of Samakundikā, situated in the *vishaya* of Kundadhāni, and in the *Chukti* of Sravastī, to two learned Brāhmans. The village had formerly been enjoyed *on the strength of a forged sasana by one Vāmarathya, from whom it was taken after destroying the old plate*. The grant is dated on the 25th year of the Samvat era, clearly referring to the Sriharsha era, and corresponds to A. D. 631. The plate was discovered, in January 1888, by a cultivator whose ploughshare struck against it in a field near Madhuban, a village in Pargana Nathupur of Tahsil Sagri, 32 miles N. E. from Azamgarh, in the N.-W. P. Sanad No. 3 consists of one plate measuring $13\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches and is a copperplate grant‡ of King Mahāsāmanta Bālāvarmadeva, dated in the 20th year. The legend on it runs to the effect that, from his residence at Brihadgriha, Bālāvarmadeva makes known to present and future royal families, and to the people concerned that, at the request of the village of merchants, headed by Sreshtin Dammuka, he, for their and their parents' spiritual benefit, granted the village of Bhujangika on the

* *Vide Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 100-105; Prinsep's *Essays* Vol. I, p. 251 ss.; J. A. S. B., Vol. XXX, p. 10 ss; *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 11 ss.

† *Vide Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 67-75.

‡ *Vide The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, pp. 123-25.

river Vegananda to certain religious students, enumerated by name. And he exhorts both the rulers and the inhabitants of the village to make over to the donees all customary dues and taxes. The locality where it was discovered is unknown. Sanad No. 4 is the Basáhi copperplate grant* of Raja Govindachandra Déva of Kanauj, dated Samvat, 1161. It consists of one plate measuring 1'-4 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It records the grant, to the Brahman Alheka of the Gautama gotra, of the village of Vasabhi in Samvat 1161, or A. D. 1104. It was discovered in a kherá close to the village of Basáhi in the Etáwah district, N. W.-P. The fifth sanad is the Basahi copperplate inscription† of Raja Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat, 1174, and consists of one plate measuring 1'-5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " by 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It records the grant to a Bráhmaṇ Thakura, named Devapála Sarman, of two villages (the names of which are not decipherable) in Samvat 1174, = 1116 A. D. This plate was discovered along with No. 4. These plates (Nos. 4 and 5) were described in 1873 by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, and it may be added here that Raja Govind Chandra belonged to the Rathore Dynasty of Kanauj. The sixth sanad is the Raiwan copper-plate grant‡ of Raja Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1180, and consists of one plate measuring 1'-3" by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". It records the grant to a Brahman Thakura, named Báládiyasarman, of the Parásaragotra, of the village of Soharyaka, in Samvat 1180, = A. D. 1123. It was discovered in a khera at Raiwan—the estate of Raja Amir Hasan Khan—in the Sitapur district, Oudh. It is of greater historical interest than Nos. 4 and 5, as it gives the ancestry of Govinda Chandra of Kanauj in greater detail. This inscription, together with Nos. 4 and 5, was redescribed by Dr. Führer before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1887. The seventh sanad is the Rén copper-plate grant§ of Raja Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1188, and consists of one plate measuring 1'-3" by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The inscription grants to the Brahman Láhada Sarman, of the Gargagotra, a certain portion of land, belonging to the village of Dosahali (the modern Dasauli on the Jamná) in Samvat 1188, = A. D. 1131. It was found, in October 1888, in the debris of a fallen high bank of the Jamná, close to the village of Rén, not far from the village and police station of Lalanti, in the Fathpur district, N.-W. P. This grant exhibits some

* Vide J. A. S. B. Vol. XLII, p. 314 ss.; *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 101.

† Vide J. A. S. B. Vol. XLII, p. 314 ss.; *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 19.

‡ Vide J. A. S. B. Vol. LVI, p. 107 ss.; *The Indian Antiquary* Vol. XVIII, p. 56.

§ Vide *The Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIX, p. 249.

curious new readings, not occurring in any of the previously found grants of the same king ; but it is specially remarkable because of the fact of its being dated in the Samvat year 1188, which is given both in words and figures, and is important because it proves that Govinda Chandra was still reigning in the year 1131 A. D., his latest date hitherto ascertained being the year 1128 A. D. (Samvat 1185).

The eighth sanad is the Bangáwán copperplate* grant of Raja Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat, 1208, and consisting of one plate measuring 1' 4" by 11¾". It records the grant to the Brahmana Anata Sarman, of the Vasishtha gotra, a resident of Patna, of the village of Gatiara, on Monday, the full moon day of the month Karttika, in Samvat 1208, = A. D. 1151. It was found by a Pasi, or toddy-drawer, in December 1887, in a field near the village of Bangáwán, pargana Dariabad, in the Bárá Bání district of Oudh. The ninth sanad is the Machhlisahar copperplate inscription of Raja Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat, 1209, and consists of one plate measuring 1' 4" by 11¾". This inscription records the grant to the Brahman Pandit, Vamsadhar Sarman of the Kasyapa gotra, of the village of Peroha in the Mahásaya district, on Monday, the 3rd lunar day of the bright half of the month Vaisákha, in Samvat 1209, or A. D. 1152. The plate was found in September, 1888, in a field close to the town of Machhlisahar in the Jaunpur district, N.-W. P. The tenth sanad in the Lucknow collection is a copper-plate grant*, discovered sometime in June, 1891, or thereabouts, in the house of one Gunga Prasad, a goldsmith, in the village named Pali, pargana Karari, of the Allahabad district. It was dug out of the ground and consists of a single plate measuring 7 inches by 6 inches. The inscription consists of 16 lines engraved on both sides of the plate, and the characters are of the Northern class of Indian alphabets. The inscription belongs to the illustrious Maharajah Lakshmana, a feudatory prince of the great Gupta dynasty, and is issued from the city called Jayapura (?). It records the grant, in the year 158 (A. D. 477), in the full moon day of the month Jaistha (May-June), by the abovementioned king, of a village to certain Brahmans. Attached to the plate is a copper seal, bearing in relieve the figure of a recumbent lion, and below it are faint traces of the legend "of the illustrious Maharajah Lakshmana." It was presented by the Magistrate of Allahabad. The inscription is translated thus:—"Om! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the God

* It has not yet been published, but will shortly appear in *Epigraphia Indica*.

(?) Not yet published, but will shortly appear in *Epigraphia Indica*.

* The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 7th July 1891.

Mahesvara (Siva), the illustrious Mahārāja Lakshmana, being in good health, issues a command to the residents beginning with the Brahmanas, and to the cultivators at the village of Phela Barvaitka :—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an *agrahara* to the Brahmana Revatiswamin, of the Kantsagotra, a student of the Vajasa-neya, Mādhyamdina school, you shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the offering of the tribute of the customary taxes, gold, &c." And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyasa : He who confiscates land, rich in kinds of grains, that has been granted, becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara : whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it). The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years ; but the confiscator of a grant, and he who assents to an act of confiscation, shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! "The *dutaka* (an officer whose duty it was to carry the king's orders to the local officials, by whom the charter was then drawn up and delivered) is the illustrious Maharaja *Naravdhanadatta*. This charter has been written by Baladeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, in the full-moon day of the month Jaistha." The plates No. 8 and 9 are very important, as they show that Govinda Chandra was reigning so late as 1151 and 1152 A. D.—the latest dates of his reign hitherto discovered. In addition to these, Dr. Führer reports that, in November 1886, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, the Opium Agent at Ghazipore, sent two copperplate inscriptions of Govinda Chandra of Kanauj to the Lucknow Museum for sale ; but their purchase by that institution was declined as they were substantially the same as Nos. 4 and 5 in the said Museum.

The British Museum of London, in its Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography, is possessed of a collection of forty-eight Indian copperplate grants, of which five are early acquisitions, eight were purchased during the period 1882-90, twenty-six were presented by Sir Walter Elliot, K. C. S. I., in 1882, &c., one was presented by J. F. Fleet, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, and the remaining eight were presented in 1889 by the Maharaja Singh of Rewah, through Major D. W. K. Barr. These are exhibited in one of two small table-cases in the Asiatic Saloon of the British Museum. Most of them appear to be unpublished *

* Mr. A. W. Franks of the Department of Archaeology and Ethnography, British Museum, London, writes to me, under date the 26th March 1891 : "Dear

The kings, who reigned in North and North-Eastern India, are amply represented by the collection * of the eighteen sets of copper-plate grants now preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in their rooms in Park Street, Calcutta. Some of the plates are also from other and remote parts of India. Sanad¹ No. 1 is a copper-plate grant dug up in the *char*, or alluvial land, of some rives in the Pergunnah Edilpura, zillah Bakharganj about 120 miles due east of Calcutta. It records a grant of land by Raja Kesava Sena, of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, in the year 1136 Samvat 1080 A.D.. It was presented to the Society by Babu Kanai Lal Thakura, and the inscription was translated by Saroda Prasad Chakravarti. Sanad No. 2 is a copper-plate inscription in Sanskrit and was discovered near the river called the little Gandak, in the district of Gorakhpur. It records a grant of land, but bears no date. It was deciphered by a pandit in the service of Captain Wilford, and was presented by the latter gentleman. Grant No. 3 consists of a set of five copper-plates discovered near the confluence of the Varuna (a small stream running past the north of Benares) with the Ganges. They measure about 20" x 16". A thick iron ring goes through the upper part of each, to which is attached a bell-shaped seal, bearing the name of Jaya Chandra in the centre, a figure of Ganesa above, and that of a conch below. The inscriptions on all these plates are in Sanskrit and are similar, differing only in the names of villages and those of donors and donees, and record formal grants of land in the years 1234 and 1236 Samvat = A. D. 1177 and 1179. They were presented by the Government of India and were translated by Captain Fell. Grant² No. 4 is a copper plate, similar to the above, and was discovered on a subsequent occasion near the identical spot. It is smaller in size than the above, and is dated 1177 Samvat, = 1120 A. D. It records the grant of the village of Kavandugram in Pargana Ambuli-tapattala by Govinda Chandra, the grandfather of Joya Chandra. It was presented by the Government of India and

Sir.—Our collection of Indian copper-plate grants has been thoroughly studied by Mr. Fleet, who has published, or is preparing to publish, in the *Indian Antiquary*, all of them excepting a few of late date, and four which at present cannot be deciphered. In his articles, which are no doubt well-known to you, Mr. Fleet³ gives all the particulars that are known about them. Our own information is scanty, and I regret that I cannot do more than furnish a list of the numbers with donors' names."

* The writer is indebted for the description of the plates numbered 1 to 18 now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to the admirable little 'Catalogue of Curiosities' published in 1849.

¹ Published by Mr. H. T. Colebrook, in 1807, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX., p. 401.

² Published by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke in 1807, in *idem*, Vol. IX. p. 438.

³ Published in 1837-38, by Mr. J. Prinsep, in J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 40.

was translated by Captain E. Fell. Sanad¹ No. 5 consists of three copper-plates joined together by a large copper ring to a seal, containing, within a raised rim, a figure of Ganesa and the name and titles of Raja Banamali Varma Deva. It was dug up near the station of Tezpara, in the Durrung Division, Assam. The Sanskrit inscription on them records the grant, in perpetuity, to a Brahman named Ishwara Deva Sarma, in the 3rd year of the Rajá's reign, corresponding to 1136 A. D. They were presented by Major F. Jenkins and translated by Babu Saroda Prasad Chakravarti. Inscription² No. 6 consists of a grant of land *engraved on a set of three plates of brass*, discovered in 1800 A. D. at Chitradurg in the Carnatic. The plates measure 7" by 7", and are joined together by a brass ring, on which is a seal of the same metal representing a boar. The language is Sanskrit, but the portion of the inscription describing the lands is in Canarese. They are dated Samvat, 1317, corresponding to 1395 A. D. It was presented by Colonel C. Mackenzie. Sanad³ No. 7 consists of two copper-plates, joined together by a ring seal, dug up at Khumbhi, on the right bank of the Hiran river, 35 miles North-East of Jubbulpore. The seal belongs to Srimat Vijaya Sinha Deva. The legend is Durga, in the form of Maha Laxmi, supported by two elephants, and at her foot is the bull of Siva. The inscription is in Sanscrit and records the grant of a village by Ajaya Sinha, of the Kulachuri dynasty, as heir apparent, by order of his mother Gásalá, to a Bráhman named Sitha Sarma, and is dated Samvat 932 = A. D. 876. It was presented by Dr. J. J. Spilsbury. Sanad⁴ No. 8 consists of a set of three copper-plates and records a grant of land. It was discovered at Gumsur amongst the other properties of the late Rajah of that place. The inscription engraved therein appears to in be the Bengali or Gaur alphabet of the 10th century, written in a cramped hand, and carved by an unskilful engraver; and the language is composed of different words from Sanskrit, Uriá and Tamil. It was presented by Captain J. Campbell. Grant⁵ No. 9 is a copper plate *sanad* surmounted by a highly wrought ornament of brass, which is drawn to some length on the plate, so as to occasion a considerable break in the upper lines. The ornament is engraved with Buddhist emblems, and the name Sri Vighrahapāla Deva. This grant was discovered by a peasant of Amgachi,

¹ Published in 1807 by Mr. H. T. Colebrook in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, p. 441.

² Published in 1807 by Mr. H. T. Colebrook in *idem*, Vol. IX, p. 406.

³ Published in 1807 by Mr. H. T. Colebrook in *idem*, Vol. IX, p. 422.

⁴ Published in 1837-38 by Mr. J. Prinsep in J. A. S. B. Vol. VI, p. 667.

⁵ Published in 1839 in J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, p. 487.

⁶ Published in 1840 by Major Jenkins in J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 766.

in the district of Dinajpore, in the year 1806 A.D., and is believed to be 800 years old. It was presented by Mr. James Pattle. *Sanad* No. 10^a consists of a set of five inscribed copper-plates joined together by a ring surmounted by a figure of the bull Nandi, and records a grant of land. These plates were found in the possession of a Zemindar of Seoni, and are much corroded and otherwise injured. The inscription, which is written in a doubtful and often unintelligible Sanscrit, records the names of five princes not known to history. The date is 18 of a local era, supposed to be after Mahendra Gupta of Kanouj. It was presented by D. M. McLeod, Esq. The 11th *Sanad* ⁴ in the collection is a land-grant inscribed on a large plate of copper surmounted by a brass tablet, bearing the genealogy of the grantor in relief. It records a list of eight kings, probably of scions of the Pála Dynasty of Bengal, and is dated in the 65th year of the reign of Vináyaka Pála Deva, the donor. It has been translated by Babu R. Mitra, and was presented by Colonel L. R. Stacey. The 12th *Sanad* ³ consists of four plates of copper inscribed with Sanscrit inscriptions discovered at Kairah in Guzerat. No. 1 is in prose, and records a list of nine princes of the *Balharā, or Vallabhi Dynasty* of Guzerat, the last of whom Dhruvasena III gives a field to a Brāhman; it is dated the 1st of the lunar month of Baisakh, Samvat 365, = A. D. 309, and is signed by his minister, Madana Hala, son of Skanda Bhatta. It was presented by Dr. A. Burn. The 13th grant ² consists of two copperplates inscribed in Sanscrit and was discovered in a field in the village of Caplianagar in the Shujalpore Pergunnah. It records the grant of the revenues of a village to a Brahman family by the young Rájá Arjuna, a descendant of Raja Bhoja of Dhar, and is dated the 10th of Falgoon, 1267, Samvat, = A. D. 1210. It was presented by L. Wilkinson, Esq. The 14th *Sanad* ¹ is a copper-plate grant measuring 17 inches by 14 inches, and is inscribed in Sanscrit characters. It was discovered at Jhoosy, a village near Allahabad, which boasts of great antiquity. It was presented by R. Brown, Esq. The 15th *Sanad* ⁵ is a copperplate grant discovered near Chittagong and presented to the Society by A. L. Clay, Esq., C.S. It bears date, the year 1165 of the Saka era, corresponding to A. D. 1243. It has been translated by Pandit Pránnáth Saraswati. The 16th inscription* is a land-grant on copperplate issued by Rájá Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj. It was presented to the

¹ Published in 1836 by Mr. L. Wilkinson in J. A. S. B., vol. V., p. 378.

² Published in 1836 by Mr. J. Prinsep in A. S. B., vol. V., pp. 724

³ Published in 1837-38 by Mr. J. Prinsep in *idem*, vol. VII pp. 901, 908, 966.

⁴ Published in 1848 by Mr. H. Torrens in J.A.S.B., vol. XVII, pp. 68, 71.

⁵ Vide J. A. S. B. vol. XLIII p. 318.

* Vide F. A. S. B. for 1876 page 130.

Society by Mr. F. S. Growse of Mathura. The 17th Sanad⁶ in the Society's collection is a copperplate grant discovered near Bhagalpore and presented to the Society by W. R. Davies, Esq. The 18th inscription in the collection is a copperplate grant⁷ which was discovered in 1884, or 1885 by a ryot named Mir Khan, while levelling a mound in Ashrafpur, about 30 miles S. E. of Dacca and about 5 miles from Sital Lakhya. It was found at a depth of 6 or 7 feet. from the surface of the ground. Another copperplate was discovered at the same time and has been described and figured in the Society's *Proceedings* for March, 1885. The plate was purchased for Rs. 35 by the Society, and is in a good state of preservation. It records a grant of land by a Jain. It has been deciphered by Dr. R. Mitra, and promises to be of great historical interest, inasmuch as it records the names of four kings hitherto unknown to history, who flourished in Bengal before the Pala Dynasty, which flourished in the 9th century A. D.

From the descriptions which have been given above, of the copper-plate grants now in the possession of the various Museums and Asiatic Societies, both in India and England, some broad facts may be generalised and may be stated as follows :—

(a). That only the dynasties of Hindu and Buddhist Kings, who have, at various times, flourished in India, were in the habit of granting free gifts of land to Brahmans, and other deserving persons, out of pious and charitable motives, and that the Mahomedan dynasties who succeeded them did not resort to the same by recording jagirs, &c., on plates of metal; and not a single land-grant or sanad of this description, issued by a Mahomedan King, has as yet been discovered. Probably this may be owing to the fact that the Mahomedans knew the secret of manufacturing better kinds of paper than the Hindus did, and almost all the sanads granted by the former, hitherto known, are upon this kind of material.

(b). That copperplate sanads were not only granted by the kings of very early times, beginning from the fifth century A. D. up to the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries of the same era, but that they have also been granted even so lately as the last and the present centuries, as is testified to by the copperplate grant of the last century from Orissa exhibited by Pandit Haraprasád Shástri at the meeting held in December 1890, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and also by the Lahore brass-plates granted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Khalsa Dynasty of the Pánjáb, who flourished from 1792 to 1839 A. D.

(c). That they were usually inscribed in Sanscrit characters;

⁶ Vide P. A. S. B. for 1877 page 257.

⁷ Vide *Asiatic Researches* vol. XVII, p. 621.

⁸ Vide P. A. S. B. for 1890 p. 242.

but occasionally other characters such as Bengali, Ooriya Tamil, &c., were used. There is only one instance known of Persian characters having been used in recording a land-grant, viz., the Lahore brass sanads which bear Persian inscriptions.

(d). That these sanads were so highly prized as title-deeds, just as *paltas* and other documents are at the present day, that they were occasionally forged in order to create fictitious titles to land, as is shown by the inscription on the Lucknow Copper-plate (No. II) of King Harshavardhana of Thaneswar, and also by the forged bronze plate, inscribed with Pali characters, and dated 1404 Samvat, recording defeat of Bhads by Lodhis, which is now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (*Vide the Asiatic Society's Catalogue of Paintings, &c.*, Edition 1897, p. 54.)

(e). That these grants were always recorded on plates of metal, usually copper and occasionally brass, and that the use of the former metal for the above purpose was far more general. Only three instances of brass plates, having been used for the purpose are known, namely, the Lahore Museum plates and the Chitradurg plates and the bronze plate referred to above, now in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is probable also that an alloy of copper and silver was also occasionally employed, as is evident from the seal of Kumargupta II now at Lucknow.

(f). That copper-plate grants have been, in the majority of cases, discovered in out-of-the-way places and have been dug up either out of *churs* or lands formed by the alluvial deposits of rivers, or the fallen *debris* of high river-banks, or the soil of fields in the course of ploughing them, or the beds of old tanks, as was the case with the copperplate grant of Lakshmana Sen discovered in the bed of Torpondighi, a small but old tank at Dinajpur, or in the course of excavating the foundations of buildings, or occasionally as heirlooms in the possession of families of long standing.

Now arises the question how they came to be deposited underneath the ground? Were they purposely deposited there, or did they get buried accidentally? It appears to be difficult to give a satisfactory solution of this question, unless it be that, as they were valued as title-deeds to land, they were deposited underneath the soil of those lands the titles to which were secured thereby, just in the same way as current coins of the realm and newspapers of the day are put into a bottle and then deposited in the foundations of buildings now-a-days. In the case of treasure-trove, coins were purposely buried beneath the ground, in those times, when property was insecure and might was right, in order to evade the cupidity of the lawless rulers of the day. Now the value of

copper-plate grants, except as title-deeds, was *nil*. Unless the solution given above be correct, it is difficult to explain in any other way the fact of their being always found beneath the ground. It is scarcely possible to believe that they have remained buried there, because somehow or other they fell there and have lain there unremoved since then. This explanation may hold good of one or two cases, but proves absolutely worthless when we take into consideration that, in the majority of instances, they have been dug out of the ground. Under these circumstances the theory of their having been purposely deposited there in order to secure titles thereto seems tenable and worthy of belief.

Now I shall go on to describe the uses to which these copper-plate grants may be put : (1) From a philological point of view, they show the state of the language in which the records are inscribed, at the time when they were issued. Thus, from studying them carefully, much may be learnt about the development of a particular language.

(2). From a palæographical point of view they show the different forms of writing obtaining at the time when they were issued. The different forms assumed by a letter in the alphabet of a language and the different stages through which the alphabet of a language has become developed to its present form may be studied from the characters engraved on copper-plate sanads. It is by a study of the different forms of the Nāgarī letter *य* *ya* as represented on various pillar, cave stone and the copper-plate inscriptions of Skanda Gupta from Indor, and of Hastin from Majhgawan, that Dr. Hoernle has arrived at the conclusion that the birch-bark Mss. brought by Lieutenant Bower from Kashgaria, which he has deciphered to be a Buddhist treatise on medicine, entitled *Nāvanitaka*, must have been written some time during the 5th century of the Christian era.

(3). To the artist, they are of value for the different kinds of ornamentation with which they are decorated, and as showing the state of the art of engraving on metal plates in those early times. From an examination of them it may be inferred that this art had been carried to a very high pitch of perfection. It is only occasionally, as in the Sanad No. 8 in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, that the carving was clumsily done.

(4). To the student of legal antiquities they show how, and on what materials, deeds of sale and gift were drawn up and recorded. They further evidence that these sanads were, in those early times, used and valued as title-deeds and that they were occasionally forged.

(5). To the mythologist they are important, as they are very

often inscribed with the figures of Ganesa, Durga, the boar, the bull Nandi and other mythological personages and animals. They further furnish a key to the emblems of different religions by which they are usually accompanied and which vary according to the creed of the kings by whom they were issued. Thus the Amgachī copper-plate (No. 9) in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society bears Buddhist emblems among its ornaments, and shows that the creed of the Pala Kings by whom it was granted, was Buddhism. Plates bearing Hindu emblems prove that the grantors were of the Brahminical faith.

(6). To the general student, the inscriptions disclose the picture of a society which has been broken up and is now a thing of the past. These are some of the objects which can be gained from the study of copper-plate inscriptions.

HATHWA.

The 8th May, 1898.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

ART. IV.—VASCO DA GAMA'S VOYAGE.

"THE JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA
BY SEA TO INDIA IN THE YEAR 1497."

(Continued from October 1898, No. 214).

ON Sunday, St. John Baptist's day, June 24th, the cargo was conveyed to Calicut, and the Admiral arranged that all the members of the expedition should go thither in turn to guard it, thus giving every one a chance of seeing the city and of making what purchases he would on his own private account; so it was settled that each ship should send one man at a time, others taking their places when they returned.

We all, whilst on our way to Calicut, received great hospitality from the Christian natives, who were very much pleased when any of us went to eat or sleep at their houses and willingly shared with us what they had. Many men likewise used to come on board the fleet to sell fish for bread and were warmly welcomed; and by the Admiral's orders we always gave a meal to those who came with their sons and slaves. All this we did to get on friendly terms with them and to gain a good name in the country. We were greatly encumbered by the crowds of beggars who often arrived long after nightfall, so that we could not turn them off the ships. The population, indeed, is very large, and the means of subsistence very small. Often, when our men went on shore to mend the sails and took biscuit with them for their dinners, such a throng of beggars, both young and old, pressed around them, that the food was snatched out of their hands and they got nothing to eat. The whole of our crews, as I have already told you, used to take it in turns to go up to Calicut, twos by twos and threes by threes. We all used to take with us whatever goods we had brought for our own private ventures, such as bracelets, cloths, tin, shirts and the like; but we did not get such good prices for them as we had hoped we should when we first arrived from Mozambique, for a very fine shirt which might be worth some three hundred reis⁶¹ in Portugal, here sold for two fanoos, which are worth about thirty reis⁶¹, though the purchasing power of thirty reis in this country is great. Not only shirts, but all our other wares, were held very cheap by the natives, who, indeed, bought them only in order to be able to show something from Portugal as a curiosity. Our men used to lay in a stock of the produce sold in the place, such as cloves, cinnamon and precious stones, and after each of them had concluded his own private business, he went back on board the fleet without anyone offering him any hindrance.

The Admiral, seeing how well disposed towards us the people were, resolved to leave a supercargo with a secretary and some of our other men behind in charge of the cargo. When the time for our departure arrived, he sent a messenger to the king, with a present of amber, corals and many other things, to tell him that he intended to return to Portugal and to ask if His Majesty wished to send any envoys back with us to our king. He added that he intended to leave a supercargo, a secretary and some other men in charge of our cargo at Calicut, and that he would be obliged if, in exchange for his present, His Majesty would send his Royal (Master) a bale of cinnamon, another of cloves, and some other spices, which he wanted as samples, but that, if he wished it, the supercargo would pay him for them when he had turned the cargo into money.

The Zamorin would not receive the Admiral's messenger until four days after his arrival, and when he came into his presence, greeted him with a frown and asked him what his business was. He accordingly repeated to him the Admiral's message, adding that he had brought him a present. The king told him to hand over what he had brought with him to the supercargo, as he did not wish to set eyes on it, and that, if the Admiral wanted to leave, he must first give him six hundred Xerafins⁶¹, and that he might then take himself off, for such was the custom of Calicut and of those who resorted thither. Upon this Diogo Diaz, who had taken the message, replied that he would take back His Majesty's answer to the Admiral. Just as he was leaving the palace, some men also left it, who, when they got to the warehouse in the town where the cargo was stored, placed a guard inside to prevent those who were in charge of it from going out, and at the same time gave orders to the town criers to make a proclamation throughout the city that no boat was to put out to the fleet. On seeing that they were prisoners, our men sent a black boy they had with them to go along the shore and see if he could find any one who would put them on board the ships, so as to let the Admiral know that they had been made prisoners by the king's orders. The boy went to the city where the fishermen lived and got one of them to put him on board for three fanoos.⁶² As night was just closing in, the boat could not be seen from the city, and, after bringing him on board, put off again from the ships without a moment's delay. This was on Thursday, August 13th, 1498.

We were all very sad at this news, not only because some of our men were in the hands of their enemies, but because we foresaw that this incident would delay our departure. At the same time we felt the conduct of the Christian king in

treating us in this dirty way deeply, particularly as we had given him everything we could. On the other hand, we did not blame him as much as we had every right to do, as we knew for certain that the Moors who were about him and who were traders from Mecca and other parts where the Portuguese name was very well known, had set him very much against us by telling him that we were pirates and that, once our ships began to make voyages to Calicut, not a single ship from Mecca, from Cambay, from the East African coast, nor from any other country would ever come there again. He would be no gainer by the exchange, as the Portuguese would give him nothing, and would, indeed, be far more likely to take from him what he had, and thus his country would be ruined. They were always pressing him to take us prisoners and put us to death, so that we might not carry the news of our discoveries home. This the captains learnt from a Moor of the country who disclosed to them the conspiracy and warned them, and more especially the Admiral, never to go on shore from the ships. Two Christians fully confirmed the Moor's report. They added that, if the captains went on shore, they would have their heads cut off, this being the penalty the King usually inflicted on those who came to his court and who did not give him gold.

Whilst our affairs were in this critical condition not a single boat came out to us. Two days after the arrest of our men a pirogue manned by four boys, bringing precious stones for sale came alongside. We supposed they had come by the orders of the Moors, and not merely to sell stones but probably to see whether they would come to any harm: the Admiral, however, made them welcome and sent back a letter by them to our friends on shore. When the natives saw the boys had come to no harm, many traders daily used to come on board, as well as many others who were merely sight-seers. We gave them all a hearty welcome and made them very good cheer. The following Sunday about twenty-five men came, amongst them being six nobles. The Admiral seeing that he had thus a means within his reach to force their friends to exchange our men who were on shore as hostages and prisoners, laid hands upon the nobles and also arrested at least twelve others as well, so that we made nineteen prisoners in all. We sent the rest of the party on shore in one of our boats with a letter to the King's Moorish factor, to say that we would exchange our prisoners for his. When they learnt that we had taken some of their men, a great crowd went to fetch our men who were at the warehouse and brought them down to the factor's house, but did not do them any harm.

On Wednesday, August 23rd, we set sail, after sending

them a message that we were going to Portugal, but we hoped that we should very soon be back at Calicut, and that they would then see whether we were pirates or not. As there was a head wind, we dropped anchor about four leagues to the leeward of Calicut. Next day we stood in towards land, but could not clear the banks in front of the city, so stood out to sea again and re-anchored within sight of the town. On Saturday we again stood out to sea and anchored almost out of sight of land. On Sunday, whilst we were riding at anchor waiting for a breeze, a sea-going ship, which had put out in search of us, ran up and reported that Diogo Diaz was at the King's palace, and that, as His Majesty saw that we had not yet left, he and his men were to be brought on board. However, as the Admiral thought the message had only been sent as a means of keeping us at Calicut until they could arm a squadron against us, or a fleet arrived from Mecca strong enough to take us, he told them to sheer off and never to come on board again unless they brought him his men or a letter from them; otherwise he would fire on them with his cannon. He added that, if they did not come back at once with the message he expected, he would cut his prisoners' heads off. After this a fair wind sprang up; so we sailed some way up the coast and then anchored again.

How the King sent for Diogo Diaz and spoke to him, as follows:—

When the news of our having sailed for Portugal reached the King, and he saw he could not carry out his plans, he tried to make good again the harm he had done. He accordingly sent for Diogo Diaz, and, when he came into his presence, greeted him with great effusion, in a very different style from the reception he had given him when he brought him the present, and asked him why the Admiral had arrested his men. Diogo Diaz replied that he had done so because the king would not allow the Portuguese to go back on to their ship, but had kept them prisoners in the city. The king said that in this the Admiral had done well, and again asked if the Factor had asked him for anything, with the evident intention of giving him to understand that he himself had had no share in what had taken place, but that the Factor had done it all to force them to pay him something, and, after loading his agent with abuse, added: "He does not know that, but a little time back, I had another agent put to death for bringing law suits against some merchants who had come here." The king also said: "Go off, with thy friends who are with thee here, to the ships, and tell the Admiral to send me his prisoners, and hand over the stone beacon he sent to tell me he wished to put up here, to these

who will take thee on board, and they will bring it back and set it up, and, moreover, that thou, for thy own part, wilt stay here with the cargo." He also sent the Admiral a letter to give to the King of Portugal which Diogo Diaz drew up for him on a palm leaf (⁵⁹). These leaves are the only writing materials the natives use. They write on them with iron pens. The king's letter ran pretty much as follows :—

"Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, came to my country. I am very well pleased with him. In my country there are quantities of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, allspice and precious stones of many kinds. Gold, silver, coral and scarlet are what I want from thy country."

On Monday morning, August 27, whilst we were still at anchor, seven boats, crowded with men, came up with Diogo Diaz and his companion. As they did not dare to put them on board, they put them into the Admiral's long boat which was then towing astern of the flagship. As they hoped Diogo Diaz would come back with them on shore, they had not brought the cargo. Once, however, the Admiral had our men on board, he would not allow them to go away again, but he gave the stone beacon to those in the boats, as the king had sent to tell him he would have it put up. He also gave up, in exchange for his men, the six of his prisoners who were of the highest rank, keeping back an equal number, and told them that, if the cargo was brought him next day, he would then hand them over those whom he had detained.

On Tuesday morning, whilst we were still at anchor, a man from Tunis who understood Portuguese came on board to take passage with us. He said the Indians had plundered him of all his goods, and that he was not sure they would not treat him even worse still, as those on shore said he was a Christian and had come to Calicut by the orders of the King of Portugal. He preferred, therefore, to leave with us, rather than stay in a country where he might be killed any day. At 10 A.M., seven boats, very strongly manned, came up; three of them had some of the bales of cloth we had left on short lying in the stern sheets, and they gave us to understand that this was the whole of the cargo which was still unsold. The three boats drew up close to the ships, whilst the other four lay some way off; but they would scarcely come within a stone's throw of our sterns, and called to us to put their men on board the long boat, and they would take them off and put the cargo on board it. As soon, however, as we found these foxes were at their old tricks, the Admiral hailed to them to sheer off, as he did not want the cargo, but would take their men back with him to Portugal, and that they had better keep a good look out, as he hoped soon to be back again at Calicut, when they

would see if the Portuguese were pirates, as the Moors said, or not.

On Wednesday, August 29th, seeing that we had now found and discovered what we had come in search of, both in the way of spices and of precious stones, and that all our efforts would not succeed in securing a treaty of alliance with the natives, or in founding in the country a party friendly to Portugal, the Admiral, after duly consulting the other captains, agreed to sail, taking with us the men we had on board, so that those in charge of the next expedition to Calicut might use them as envoys. We, therefore, immediately sailed on our way to Portugal; and glad, indeed, were we at heart, at the good fortune which had suffered us to find such a great thing as we had found. About midday on Thursday, August 30, whilst we were being becalmed below Calicut, nearly seventy boats, crowded with men, ran up to us. They had put up round the gunwales very stout screens stuffed with wool and faced with scarlett cloth. The armour they use for their bodies, heads and hands is :

[The author omits to describe this armour.] Directly they got within a cannon shot of the fleet, we at once fired on them from the flagship and the others. They pursued us closely for an hour and-a-half; but, whilst they were in full chase, a tornado burst upon us and carried us out to sea; so, seeing that their efforts would be useless, they put back again to shore, whilst we went on our way.

"THE SPICE TRADE OF CALICUT.

[The following description of the Spice Trade of Calicut and of the route by which the spices were conveyed to Europe is here inserted in the Mss. probably by a mistake of the copyist, as it appears more naturally to belong to the list of articles of traffic at Alexandria given in the appendix. The description of the route to the East by the Red Sea was quite new to the Western Europeans of the Fifteenth Century, as, since the Crusades, the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt had closed the Isthmus of Suez to the Franks, and the only European traveller who had made the journey was Nicolo Conti of Venice, on his way home from India about 1445.]

From this country of Calicut, which is otherwise known as Upper India (⁶⁴), come the spices which are consumed in

(⁶⁴). The three "Indias" known to Mediæval Geographers were (1): "*An India Baixa*," Nether India, the whole of East Africa from Abyssinia to Mozambique; (2): "*An India alta*," or Upper India, now British India; (3): "*Further India*," the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The "*West Indies*" were so called by Columbus because he imagined he had reached the islands which, according to Marco Polo, lay south-east of our India. "Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai" is the famous monastery at Mount Sinai, said to have been erected by Justinian over the place where St. Catherine of

the West, in the East, in Portugal, and, most likely, in all parts of the world ; from this City of Calicut precious stones of many kinds are brought, and the following spices grow in its territory, that is to say, quantities of ginger, allspice and cinnamon, although the cinnamon is not so fine as that which comes from an island called Ceylon, a week's voyage from Calicut. All the cinnamon is warehoused at Calicut, and there is another island called Malacca, from which the cloves reach this city. At Calicut the spices are shipped on vessels which come from Mecca and are carried to a city which is in Mecca, called Jeddah, the distance from Malacca to Jeddah being reckoned at fifty days with a fair wind, astern, for the ships of this country cannot sail close to the wind. At Jeddah they unload the cargo and pay the dues to the Grand Seignior. The spices are then transhipped into other and smaller vessels, and are carried up the Red Sea to a place which is close to Saint Catharine of Mount Sinai ⁽⁶⁴⁾ called Tunz ⁽⁶⁴⁾. Here they pay a second duty. Then the merchants load the spices on camels, which are chartered at four cruza-
does ⁶⁵ a head, and carry them to Cairo, where they again pay a third duty. The caravans, whilst on their road to Cairo, are often attacked by the robbers who abound in these parts, and who are Arabs and others. Here they pay duty a third time. At Cairo they reload the spices on ships which ply on a river, called the Nile, which flows down from Prester John's Country ⁶⁶ in the nether Indies ⁶⁶, by which they are carried down in two days to a place called Rosetta, where they pay a fourth duty, and are then loaded on camels and carried in one day to a city called Alexandria which is a sea port. The galleys of Venice and Genoa come to Alexandria to fetch them. It is calculated that the Grand Seignior draws a yearly revenue of six hundred thousand cruzadoes ⁶⁵ from these duties on the spice trade, a hundred thousand of which per annum he pays over to a king named Cidady ⁶⁶ to make war on Prester John. ⁶⁶ This title of Grand Seignior must be purchased for money by its holder ⁶⁶, as it cannot descend from father to son.

Alexandria had been buried by angels, who had transported her through the air from the scene of her martyrdom. "Prester John's Country" is Abyssinia. The "Blue Nile" is shown as rising there in Fra Mauri's map of 1459. "Tunz" is either Suez, or Tor, a small port on the East Coast of the Gulf of Suez, now used as a quarantine station.

⁶⁵ A cruzado is 2s. 3d., 600,000 cruzadoes are, therefore, £1,350,000, 100,000 cruzadoes = £225,000.

⁶⁶ "Prester John" is the Christian king of Abyssinia. The "Cydady" a word derived, according to Burton, from Iskander, the Arabic for Alexander, was probably a Mameluki Sheikh of Upper Egypt. It is not true that the title of Grand Seignior had to be bought by its holder, who, according to law, was always the oldest living male of the race of Othman; but every Sultan gave large donations to

The author again resumes his account of Vasco da Gama's voyage home.

As the wind was very light, we were obliged to make our way up the coast by steering out to sea with the land wind and then standing in shore again with the sea breeze, and dropping anchor in the calms between the shifts. On Monday, September 10th, as we were sailing along in shore, the Admiral sent one of our prisoners, who was blind of one eye, with a letter to the Zamorin, written in Spanish Arabic by a Moor on board. The country where we landed the Moor is called Compia⁶⁷, and its king, Biaquelle.⁶⁷ He is at war with the king of Calicut. Next day, whilst we were lying becalmed, boats ran alongside with fish, and their crews came on board without the slightest fear. The following Saturday we arrived at a group of small islands⁶⁷ about two leagues off shore. Here we sent out a boat and put up a beacon, to which we gave the name of Saint Mary's Beacon, in one of the islets. We did so because the King had commanded the Admiral to erect three beacons, the first of which he was to name Saint Raphael, the second Saint Gabriel, and the third Saint Mary, so that this was the last of the three which we were under orders to put up. The first, that of Saint Raphael, we had erected at the River of Good Omens, the second, or Saint Gabriel's, at Calicut, and the last, which was Saint Mary's, in this island. Here many fishermen brought up their boats alongside our ships; and the Admiral gave them shirts and made them very good cheer. He asked them if they would let him put up a beacon on their island. They told him they would gladly give him leave to do so, and that, if we would put it up, they would then say that we were Christians like themselves. So the Admiral went on shore and set up the beacon amidst great demonstrations of friendship from the islanders.

The next night we set sail with the wind from land and went on our course, and the following Thursday, September

the Janissaries on his accession; hence, doubtless, the origin of the story. The then reigning Sultan was Bajazet I, son of Mahomet II, the Conqueror of Constantinople.

⁶⁷ "Compia" is Cannanor, that is Kannannur, "Kannan's Town," the capital of the Arab Pirate Kings of Cananore: it is now the chief British military station on the Malabar Coast, and is famous for the number of its mosques. The population is Moplah.

"Its king Biaquelle" is really a mistake for the "king of Baticala" or Badashugarli, which is now a fort in North Canara District, Bombay Presidency, at the entrance to the Kali River, on a flat-topped hill with a precipice on the river side. "At its foot is the village called Chitakul (Cintacora), the residence of "Tinoja, the pirate chief, who was employed by the king of Gairsoppa, to attack "Vasco da Gama at the Vingoria Rocks." (cf. Correia.

"*St. Mary's Isles*" are the Mulpi or Mnlki, Rocks off Mulki, a town on an inlet of the sea in South Kanara, (Madras), 19 miles north of Mangalore. They are also known as Premevia Rocks.

19th, we found ourselves off a very lofty and beautiful coast, with good air. We saw six little islands⁶⁷ close in to the land. We let go our anchors very close in shore and sent out a long boat, as we had to fill up with wood and water for the run straight across to the African coast which we meant to attempt if we fell in with favourable winds. When we got on shore we met a young man who took us to a spring of very good water rising up between two rocks in the bed of a torrent. The Admiral gave him a cap and asked him if he was a Moor, or a Christian. He answered he was a Christian, and was greatly pleased when we said that we, too, were Christians. At early dawn, next day, a pirogue, laden with quantities of gourds and water-melons and manned by four men, put out to us. The Admiral asked the crew if cinnamon, ginger, or any other kind of spices grew in their country. They replied there was a good deal of cinnamon, but no other kind of spice. The Admiral, accordingly, at once sent two men with them on shore to get him a sample of it; so the native took them to a jungle where quantities of cinnamon trees were growing, from which they cut down two large branches in full leaf. In the mean time, we went on towards the watering place in our boats, and met our two men carrying the cinnamon boughs and accompanied by about two hundred Indians, who were bringing the Admiral a large present of chickens, cow's milk and gourds. They asked him to let his two men go with them, as they had a large quantity of dried cinnamon, of which they wished him to have a sample, stored some way off.

After we had filled up with water, we went back on board and the Indians stayed on shore. Next day they came back to the fleet with a present of cows, pigs and chickens for the Admiral. At sunrise, on the following day, we sighted two large brigantines, about two leagues off from us, close in shore; but we paid very little attention to them. Whilst the tide was with us, we went on shore for wood, as we had to run a long way up the river to water. Just as we were in the midst of our wood cutting, the Admiral thought the strange ships must be larger than he had at first supposed. He at once ordered us all back on board the boats for dinner, and that, whilst we were eating, we should go up in the boats to see if the new comers were Moors or Christians. As soon as the Admiral was back on board his ship, he sent a sailor up into the tops to see if he could sight any other vessels. The man at once saw eight merchant vessels lying becalmed about six leagues to

⁶⁷ "The six little islands close inshore" are the Vingorlá Rocks, which lie about nine miles north of Vingorlá, a port in the Ratnágiri district of Bombay, which was formerly a famous pirate haunt. The deep narrow valleys on the coast of the mainland of Ratnágiri are well watered, and their sides are wooded with groves of cocoa nut and areca nut palms. Their soil is usually very rich and covered with a thick growth of jungle (cf. Sir W. Hunter).

seaward of us, and so the Admiral at once ordered our ships to be laid straight for them. As soon as the breeze caught the strangers, they drew in as fast as they could, and, when they had come up level with us, though about two leagues off, so that we felt sure they must have sighted us, we made for them. When they saw we were steering for them, they began to draw into land, stern foremost. One of them, however, broke her rudder, before she could get in shore, so her crew sprang into her boat which was towing astern and rowed hastily off to land. On drawing up to her, we at once grappled her, but found nothing on board but provisions and arms. The provisions were coconuts and four jars full of loaves of palm sugar: in the hold there was only sand ballast. Her consorts were run on shore by their crews; so we went in the long boats and played on them with our cannon.⁶⁸

At sunrise, next day, as we were riding at anchor, seven men boarded us from a boat and told us that the ships were from Calicut and had come with the express object of taking us and putting us all to death. The following day we again set sail, but re-anchored about two gun-shots beyond our first anchorage, off an island,⁶⁹ on which they told us there was water. Nicholas Coelho was at once sent off in an armed boat to look for the watering-place. He found a building on the island, which turned out to be a church, built of large hewn stones. The islanders told us it had all been pulled down by the Moors⁷⁰ with the exception of a chapel, now roofed with thatch, in the body of which stood three black stones which they worshipped. On the highest point of the island beyond the church we also found a large tank, four fathoms deep, lined with hewn stone, from which we drew as much water as we would. In front of the church was a sandy beach on which we careened the *Berrio*, but were prevented from doing the same to our flagship, the *St. Raphael*, by the events which I am now going to describe to you.

One day, whilst we were working on the *Berrio*, which, was drawn up on the beach, we saw two large cutter-rigged vessels crowded with men drawing up to us with their sweeps out, drums beating, bagpipes in full blast, and standards flying from their tops. Five more were scattered along the coast as a rear-guard. Before they got up to the ships, we asked the Indians who were on board with us, who they were. They warned us on no account to allow them to come on board, as they were pirates,⁷⁰ who would take us if they could, as the men of this

⁶⁸ The flotilla was that of Tinojá.

⁶⁹ The "island" was Angediva, 12 leagues south of Goa and a league from Cintacora. According to Burton, the temple, which was sacred to one of the incarnations of Vishnu, had been ruined by Moslems about A.D. 1312.

⁷⁰ The pirates were subjects of the King of Goa.

"Tambaram" is Tamil for "Lord." It is used generally of Shiva.

country, who always go about armed, often board vessels as friends, and if they find themselves in sufficient strength, seize them by force. As soon as the strangers came within cannon range, the *St. Raphael* and the Admiral's flagship fired on them. On this their crews began to cry out "*Tambaram*,"⁷⁰ that is, "Lord," to show they were Christians; for the Indian Christians call God "*Tambaram*;" but, seeing that we were not inclined to welcome them as such, they at once began to make for shore. Nicholas Coelho went after them for some way in his long boat, but was recalled by a flag hoisted on the Admiral's ship.

Next day whilst the captains with many of their crews were on shore careening the *Berrio*, two small boats arrived with about twelve men, cleanly clad in cotton cloths, bringing a bundle of sugarcane as a present to the Admiral. When they had come close in shore, they asked the Admiral for leave to go over the ships. However, as he thought they were spies, he began to scold them lustily. Just as he was doing so, two other boats pulled up with about as many men again; but, seeing that the Admiral was not giving the others a very friendly reception, they called to those who had arrived first to come away without landing, so they thrust off again from the beach and went away after their friends.

Whilst the Admiral's ship was being careened, a man of about forty,⁷¹ who spoke Venetian very well, came to us. He was dressed in a linen suit, with a very fine cap on his head, and an embroidered girdle round his waist. Directly on landing, he went up and embraced the Admiral and the other captains and began by telling us that he was a Christian from the Levant and had come to India whilst very young, and lived with a great lord who had forty thousand horsemen in his service, and was a Moor. He said that, though he was outwardly a Moor, he was at heart a Christian. Whilst he was living at home, he heard that some men had come to Calicut whom no one could understand and who were always fully clothed. On hearing this, he said the men could only be Franks, which is the name we Europeans go by in those parts;

71 The "man of about 40" was a Jew from Posen in Poland, now an important Prussian town. According to Burton, he had fled to Bosnia when the German Jews were expelled from Poland by Casimir IV. (1445-1492) in 1450: "He had drifted to Alexandria and India, married a Jewess of Cochin, and became Captain of the fleet to the Sabair (Governor) of Goa under the King of Bijapur." After his arrival in Portugal he was baptised under the name of Don Gaspar da Gama, and taken into the royal service. He was finally knighted and sent back to India, where he rendered great services to Almeida and Albuquerque, for which he was rewarded by large pensions and commanderies and died very rich. According to Correia, however, he was a Granadine Jew, who, after the taking of Granada, A.D. 1492, had been banished, and after traveling through many countries had come by Turkey and Mecca to India, where he became admiral to Sahogo, who was a Muhammadan and King of Goa.

so he asked his lord for leave to come and see us, saying that, if he would not let him do so, he should fret himself to death. His lord, accordingly, gave him leave and told him to tell us that he would not allow us to be at any expense whatsoever whilst we were in his country, but that, on the contrary, he offered us provisions for nothing, and added that, if we wished to settle, there he would gladly allow us to do so. The Admiral sent him many thanks for his kindness, thinking this lord must be well disposed towards us.

The stranger also said that he would be greatly obliged if the Admiral would kindly give him a cheese, to send to a friend of his who had stayed on shore, and who had made him promise that, if he got a friendly reception from us, he would send him a token to put him at his ease. The Admiral on this ordered him to be given a cheese and two new baked loaves. The stranger remained on the island and talked a good deal about every subject which turned up. In the meantime Paulo da Gama went to the Christians who had brought him there, and asked them who he was. They answered that he was the shipowner who had come to attack us here, and that, on shore, he had his own ships of war with large crews. They did their best to explain this to us by signs, so, in consequence of what they told us, we took the man, brought him to the ship which was on shore and began to scourge him to make him confess himself to be the shipowner who had attacked us, and what his purpose in now coming to us was. He told us he knew that all the country wished us ill, and that we were surrounded by armed men hidden in the creeks, but that not one of them durst attack us; so they were waiting for the arrival of about forty sail, which were being fitted out against us, though he did not know whether they really meant to do so or not. At first he only gave us the same account of himself, as he had done before; but, on being re-examined three or four times, he told us, though not by word of mouth, but by gestures, which we understood, that he had come to the ships to find out what arms and crews we had.

On this island we stayed twelve days. Here we got a good supply of fish which the fishermen from the mainland used to bring us for sale, with boatloads of gourds, water-melons, and green cinnamon wood with the leaves still on. After careening the ships and filling up with water, we broke up our prize and then sailed on Friday, December 5th.

The owners offered the Admiral a thousand fansens⁷² not to break the ship up; but he told them that he would not sell it, as it was enemies' property, but proposed to burn it.

⁷² A thousand fansens = £61 5s.

When we had run about two hundred leagues to sea from our point of departure, the Moor we had taken said he thought it was now time for him to speak out as to the real facts of the case. When he was at his master's house he was told that we had lost our way and were sailing at haphazard along the coast, as we did not know any route which would take us back to our own country; so many fleets had put out to take us. When his lord heard this report, he bade him go and see in what condition we were, and if there were any means of inducing us to come to his country, for people said that if the expeditions which had been fitted out to take us succeeded in doing so, they would not give him any share of the plunder. Once, however, he had us in his own country, he could seize us when he would, and, as we were brave men, make use of us as allies in his wars with the neighbouring kings. In this, however, Master Moor reckoned without his host.

We were so long on our voyage across the ocean, that we spent three months all but three days upon it, as we so often fell in with calms and head winds. All the crews, therefore, fell sick, and their gums swelled out so much as to cover their teeth and prevent them from eating. Their legs, too, swelled up, and large swellings broke out all over their bodies, which used up a man's strength so much that, at last, he died without any other perceptible disease. Of this sickness thirty of our men died during the passage, and, as we had before lost about so many, we were so short handed that only seven or eight men were left to work each ship, and even these were by no means as sound as they should have been. I swear to you that, if we had continued in this state only one fortnight longer, we must have drifted about helplessly in these seas, as there would not have been a man left to work the ships. We came, indeed, into such extremities that we had all made up our minds to the worst, and, whilst we were in this miserable condition, made many a vow to saints and intercessors for the ships. The captains had already resolved that, if we fell in with a steady wind, we should run back again to India and take refuge there. However, it pleased God in His great mercy to grant us such a wind that in six days it wafted us to land, a land which were as glad to see us as if it had been Portugal, for we hoped that, with God's help, when once on shore, we should grow sound again as we had done before. We made our land fall ⁴ on Wednesday, February 2nd, 1499.⁷⁴ As night was drawing in and we were already close in shore, we steered on the seaward tack and stood on and off during the night. At daybreak we stood in to reconnoitre the country and find out whither our Lord had brought us, for we had no pilot on board and not even a man who could lay off our position on the charts, so that we might as-

certain where we were. All we knew for certain was that some said we must be among some islands⁷³ which lie about three hundred leagues from the mainland in the parallel of Mozambique, though their only ground for saying so was that one of the Moors had said that we should make our landfall at Mozambique. These islands are very sickly, and their native inhabitants suffer from the same disease as we did. We found ourselves off a very large town with houses several storeys high, and in the middle of it there was a great palace and round it there were four towers. The city runs close along the water's edge, and belongs to Moors and is named Magadoxo.⁷⁴ As we ran close in shore along the sea front we fired many cannon shots and went off down the coast before a fair stern wind, sailing by day and lying to by night, as we did not know how far we were from Melinde, our intended destination. On Saturday, February 5th, as we were lying becalmed, a tornado came down upon us and broke the haliards of the *Raphael*. Just as we were about repairing the damage, an armed flotilla put out to attack us from a town named Paté.⁷⁵ It consisted of eight boats crowded with men. Directly they came within range our cannon opened upon them, and they at once fled back to shore. We did not pursue them, as we had no wind.

On Tuesday, February 9th,⁷⁵ we came to anchor off Melinde. The king at once sent off a longboat to us with a large crew bringing a present of sheep and a message to the Admiral, couched in the most friendly and courteous terms, that he was most welcome, and that his arrival had been expected for some time. The Admiral sent back one of our men with them to shore with orders to return next day with oranges for the sick, who were eagerly craving for them. He, however, came back at once with some and with large quantities of other fruits, but the supplies proved of but little avail to the sick men, as the climate of the place was so deadly at this season that many of them died here. Many Moors, too, came on board by the king's orders with poultry and eggs for sale. When the Admiral saw how hospitably the king received us

⁷³ The Comoro Islands at the Northern Entrance of the Mozambique Channel between Madagascar and the mainland of Mozambique are, perhaps, intended, but they are not more than three hundred miles from the mainland. The Gilbert and Farquhar Islands, to the North of Madagascar, are further from the mainland but are small and insignificant.

⁷⁴ The land fall was at Magadoxo, now an important town on the Italian Somali Coast.

⁷⁵ It is evident from the dates of their arrival at Mozambique and at San Braz Bay that "January" should be read for "February" until they reached the Islands of St. George.

⁷⁶ The "stone beacon," a weather-beaten column of white marble bearing the arms of Portugal, is still to be seen at the north side of the entrance to Melinde Harbour. Paté is Patta, a town on the coast of British East Africa to the South of Witu. "Tamugata" is Tanga opposite Zanzibar, on the mainland of German East Africa.

at a time when we so sorely needed his kindness, he sent him a present and message by one of his men, the one, I mean, who spoke Moorish Arabic, to ask him to send him a tusk of ivory to take back to the king his master, and also to grant him permission to set up a stone beacon⁷⁴ in his territory as a mark of friendship. The king replied that he would gladly comply with all his requests out of his love for the King of Portugal, at whose service and orders he always desired to be ; so he accordingly sent the Admiral the tusk at once and commanded the beacon to be put up on shore. He also sent us a Moorish youth who wanted to return with us on a visit to Portugal, specially recommending him to the Admiral with an urgent message that he was sending him to tell the King of Portugal how much he desired his friendship.

To our great satisfaction, we made a five days' stay at Melinde to refresh ourselves after the terrible hardships we had undergone on our voyage from India, during which we had all so nearly perished. At daybreak on Friday we sailed, and on Saturday, February 12th,⁷⁵ passed Mombassa close in shore. On Sunday we anchored at Saint Raphael's Banks, where we burnt the Saint Raphael herself, as it was impossible for our scanty crews to work three ships. We brought all her cargo and fittings on board the two ships we had left. We remained at Saint Raphael's Banks five days, during which the people of a town named Tamugata,⁷⁶ on the mainland opposite, used to bring us quantities of poultry for sale and to exchange for shirts and bangles. On Sunday, January 27th,⁷⁵ we sailed from here with a very good stern wind. The next night we lay too and at daybreak found ourselves close in to a very large island called Zanzibar. It is very thickly inhabited by Moors, and lies about ten leagues off the mainland. Late on the afternoon of February 1st,⁷⁵ we dropped anchor off the Islands of St. George at Mozambique. At daybreak next day we landed on the island which we had said was on our outward voyage, and erected a stone beacon. The rain was falling so violently that we could not get a fire alight to melt the lead to seal the cross with ; so we left it there, without doing so, went back on board and sailed at once.

(To be continued.)

ART. V.—SIXTY YEARS OF THE “TIMES OF INDIA.
A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN
PRESS.

ON the 3rd November, 1898, the *Times of India* entered upon its sixty-first year. Sixty years is a long span in the life of a newspaper anywhere ; and in this land of vicissitudes it is certainly very unusual for a journal to have enjoyed such a long and unbroken lease of life. The Calcutta *Englishman* is the only Anglo-Indian journal that can boast of a longer career than the *Bombay Times*, for it was started five years earlier. It is, in fact, among the native papers that we have to look for an older journal, in the venerable *Bombay Samachar*, which is now in its 77th year. But it must not be thought that, when this paper was started, sixty years ago, it had no contemporaries. It had many, and some of them old ones. There was the venerable *Bombay Courier*, started so far back as 1790, and the old *Bombay Gazette*—the existing paper of the same name dates from March, 1843,—which was only a year younger than the *Courier*. There was the *Bengal Hurkaru* established in 1795, and there was the *Friend of India* started in 1835 as a newspaper in Calcutta, beside some minor journals. But all those older papers have passed away, the *Englishman*, as we have just said, being the only English journal existing at the time of the establishment of the *Times of India* that still survives.

We may preface this historical account of the *Times of India* with a short sketch of the early days of the newspaper press in India, especially as its history has not yet been written, and it is not easy to get at the facts and dates in ordinary publications. The very first paper in India, it is now pretty well-known, was the famous, or rather infamous, *Bengal Gazette*, which is generally known as “Hickey’s Gazette,” from the name of its writer and publisher. It first appeared on January 29th, 1780, and, after running a course of two years, marked by extraordinary coarseness, vulgarity, and even brutality, it came to an end, unwept and unsung, in March, 1782. Hickey’s *Gazette* was followed by five papers, within as many years, which were certainly much more respectable than their pioneer. Bombay followed the lead of Calcutta within ten years, and the first paper on the Western side of India appeared under the name of the *Bombay Herald* in 1789. This was short-lived. But one that appeared a year later, in 1790, had a very long span of existence. This was the *Bombay Courier*, which, after a long

and useful career of fifty-six years, ceased to exist as a separate journal in 1847, being then merged into the newly-established *Bombay Telegraph*. The combined *Telegraph and Courier* finally amalgamated with the *Times of India* a little after it took its present title, in July, 1861. The *Courier* was followed, a year later, in 1791, by the old *Bombay Gazette*, which, too, had a long life and ceased to exist in August, 1842. More than eighteen months after its demise appeared on the 6th March, 1843, the *Gentleman's Gazette*, which assumed the name of the *Bombay Gazette* on the 12th November, 1849, under the sole control of John Connon, one of the distinguished Bombay journalists of the last generation. It is this second *Bombay Gazette* that exists to-day as the contemporary of the *Times*. The two papers, the *Courier* and the *Gazette*, occupied the entire field of journalism in Bombay for a very long time without any rivalry or competition. The reason of this was that there was no room for competition. The press was circumscribed by regulations and restrictions which were by no means allowed to be a mere dead letter, but were frequently enforced in a very stern way. So many obstacles were put in the journalist's way by the law and its officers, including a vigilant censor, that very few who cared for a quiet life were willing to join the ranks of the profession. Editors were hauled up for the most trifling offences, and nothing like free criticism of public men and measures was tolerated. Government officials, from Governors and Councilors down to the humblest functionaries in the Secretariat or other departments, showed their jealousy of the press by prosecutions or threats of prosecution which usually had their effect. Among the prosecutors of newspapers in those days we find Commanders-in-Chief, heads of the Marine, Chief Justices, and other high officials. Deportation without any trial or explanation whatever was quite a usual and well recognised mode of punishing editors.

How sensitive and captious the Government of those days were with regard to the press will be best illustrated by a few instances of their proceedings against newspapers taken from a letter of the Chairman of the East India Company of 1823, printed in an old and rare blue-book. On September 21st, 1791, some grave comments were made in the *Gazette* on the state of the police. The Government expressed its disapprobation, and desired the editor in future to send the proof sheets to the Secretary for inspection. The *Bombay Herald* having inserted a passage saying that Lieutenant Emmett was prosecuting his surveys at Poona, its editor was also called upon to submit proofs in future. In July, 1802, the proprietor of the *Gazette* was censured for inserting the advertisement of an intended publication of the trial of Mr. Bellasis for murder, and directed

to make a public apology on pain of forfeiting the Company's protection and of an immediate stop being put to his press. In July, 1807, Bombay editors were directed not to publish articles of naval intelligence except such as should be sanctioned by Government. The climax of absurdity and captiousness is reached when we read that Government, in 1811, ordered the editor of the *Courier* to be informed that an advertisement in that paper of a sale of certain premises on a Sunday was considered extremely objectionable, and it, therefore, directed him in future to refuse admission to advertisements of sales intended to take place on Sundays! No wonder that, when Government behaved like this to the press, it should be in a very indifferent state. Very rarely did an able and self-respecting man like Silk Buckingham find himself in the out-caste ranks of the Anglo-Indian journalists. And the troubles and difficulties by which he was overwhelmed are notorious; but then his heroic fight and final triumph are also equally well-known. Stocqueler stood alone as an able journalist in Bombay in the twenties, as Silk Buckingham did in Calcutta, though his trials and sufferings were not so heavy as the latter's. He came to Bombay very young, and in his interesting autobiography, he gives a very good account of the Bombay press as he found it in 1822. "There were but two papers extant at the time, and very comical things they were. The *Bombay Courier* and the *Gazette*, composed almost entirely of selections from English papers, and an occasional law report, the pen of the editor seldom found nobler occupation than the record of a ball and supper, or a laudatory notice of an amateur performance. Only once did an editor, Mr. Fair, of the *Bombay Gazette*, venture to insert an article personally offensive to the Recorder, Sir Edward West, and he paid a bitter penalty. The Recorder invoked the protection of the Government. The Government deprived Fair of his licence, and he was deported and ruined." (*Memoirs of a Journalist*, p. 49.)

Some minor and short-lived papers, like Stocqueler's own *Iris* and *Argus*, were started during the twenties and early thirties; but they had none of them any marked effect on journalism. The severity of the early press regulations of 1799 and 1818, which had been intensified by the rigorous execution of them under the short temporary rule of Adam in 1823, had been relaxed under Lords Amherst and William Bentinck, and the press was pretty much left to itself by those rulers. But still the regulations were there hanging like Damocles' sword over the journalist's head and ready to fall at any moment. That, even under the administration of such a liberal ruler as Bentinck, the press was at the mercy of his subordinates, may be seen from the fact that Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay,

could not tolerate a Calcutta paper's criticism of some distribution of patronage by him here; and in 1832, wrote a pressing letter to Metcalfe, who was head of the local Government in Bengal, calling upon him to "force the editor to make a public and ample apology, retracting every word he had stated to the prejudice of Lord Clare, or to withdraw the editor's licence." Metcalfe, however, refused, politely, but firmly, to do anything of the kind, and told his Lordship of Bombay to mind more serious matters than worrying a newspaper editor for performing his legitimate functions. Metcalfe wrote in this letter to Clare that since the local administration had been in his hands the press had not once been interfered with in the slightest degree; "and so satisfied am I," he declared emphatically, "that this is now the most unobjectionable course, that I shall continue to follow it as long as I have any discretionary power on the subject." Within three years he came to possess not only discretionary, but supreme power on the subject, and he used it to emancipate the entire Indian press from the vexatious bonds which had held it down so long.

The year 1835, in which Metcalfe granted this freedom to the press in India, is a great landmark in its history.

This wise and liberal measure gave a great impetus to journalism, raised its tone, increased its influence, and, above all, induced able and self-respecting men to employ their talents in the service of the liberated and independent press. Several papers, indeed, had already come into existence under the favouring influences of the latter half of Bentinck's rule, and of the friendly attitude of Metcalfe towards the press even before the great measure was passed, on September 15th, 1835. The *Englishman* had been started at Calcutta by Stocqueler a short time before; and the famous *Friend of India* began its career as a newspaper in the very year of the emancipation, of the excellent use of which it was always a conspicuous example. While Calcutta was taking such strides in founding new journals, Bombay was not idle. In three years after the passing of Metcalfe's Act a body of Bombay capitalists combined to bring out a newspaper which would be a worthy representative of the power of the press in this country, on the model of the papers at home. Another circumstance, besides the emancipation of the Press, also induced these men to venture upon their new enterprise. This was the establishment of regular communication between Bombay and Europe by means of steam during the late thirties. The persistent efforts of the indefatigable enthusiast, Waghorn, were at last to be crowned with success, and a monthly mail was to be established between Bombay and London. Thus, when fresh information was now to be obtainable at stated short periods, and not,

as hitherto, only after long and capricious intervals ; when people here were no longer to be dependent on the mercy of chance steamers or ships to bring news of importance, and when, moreover, news could be published at the editor's own will and discretion without any let or hindrance from jealous authorities, it was natural that capital and talent should seek the channel of journalism for their employment. Accordingly, a number of Bombay capitalists started a journal on November 3rd, 1838, under the name of the *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce*.

The paper began as a bi-weekly, appearing on Saturdays and Wednesdays, consisting of two sheets of eight pages, nineteen inches by twelve, and four columns to a page. Of these only the first page contained advertisements, which rarely overflowed into one or two columns of the second page. An analysis of the contents of the first number shows that there were three columns of European Intelligence, three-and-a-half of what is headed "Spirit of the English Journals"—a stock heading of papers at home in those days—, containing interesting extracts on various subjects from the home papers ; a column of "Spirit of the French Journals," half a column about America, besides reviews from English journals. One page is headed the "Journal of Commerce," and contains commercial information about various parts of the world, and details of prices in the Bombay market. Then follow two columns of Intelligence from the N.-W. Provinces, Bengal, and Madras papers, also from Burmah and China. After this comes the editorial of two columns ; underneath are which two small paragraphs about troopships. The last two columns are devoted to domestic occurrences, civil and military matters, and General Orders in the various Public Departments. The annual subscription, it may be noted, was Rs. 36 in advance and Rs. 46 in arrears. On September 2nd, 1850, the paper began to appear as a daily, retaining the same size, with these remarks : "We have already pledged ourselves to give the reader as much printed matter as our contemporaries. We have found it convenient to retain the form in which our paper has heretofore appeared, but as this would afford nearly a third more than is given by any paper in the Presidency, we reserve for ourselves the power of issuing a single sheet of four pages two or three times a week should circumstances require, or should our advertisements fail to supply matter sufficient for our expected full size. This reservation, we hope, will not often require to be taken advantage of." The price of the daily edition was raised to Rs. 46 in advance. The bi-weekly edition was, however, continued to be issued by the side of the daily at the former rates, and it is still issued.

When the paper became the daily *Times of India*, the size

was increased to a much larger sheet, twenty-seven inches by twenty-one, of four pages, of seven columns each. This continued, with but little change, to be the size until October, 1881, when the paper appeared as an eight page journal.

Sir Robert Grant was Governor of Bombay at the time, and he cordially approved of the scheme; several of the most distinguished servants of the Government also countenancing and supporting it. An analysis of the list of its projectors and proprietors shows that among them were eleven of the principal European houses in Bombay, the oldest and most distinguished native merchant, two of the most eminent barristers of the Supreme Court, and the most distinguished private medical practitioner in Western India. They selected, as the editor of the newspaper, Dr. Brennan, a lecturer of eminence on anatomy in Dublin, who came here willingly, as his delicate state of health rendered a warm climate desirable. Besides being editor of the *Bombay Times*, Dr. Brennan held also the post of secretary to the recently established Chamber of Commerce. He lived only for a very short time to enjoy either post, dying within a few months after he had taken up his editorial duties, in 1839.

We shall quote here from one or two of the earliest numbers of the *Times* some passages showing the object which the founders and projectors had in view in those early days—objects which it will be found have been steadily kept in sight by all who have had control over the destinies of the paper throughout its career. The *Times* started, it must be said, with a high ideal for those days. It aimed at doing for this country what some of the best of the English journals were doing at home, advancing the public cause by instructing and enlightening the people on public questions, and by bringing them in to touch with persons in power and authority. From the first it took for its model the press at home.

In the editorial address in the very first number pointed reference is made to the ignorance and indifference about India and matters Indian shown in England, and hopes are entertained that the two countries may come to know each other better. "Our countrymen are all at this moment labouring in every land for a common object—the universal peace, intimacy, and friendship of mankind. In the midst of this universal enquiry there is one country—perhaps only one—in which the British public feels but little interest. Few think of visiting India with the exception of those officially connected with its government. Its history, institutions, language, and manners receive no share of that public attention which is so profusely lavished upon those of every other country. Yet the few who have made them the object of their research

declare that in almost all these particulars India 'challenges the first place in public attention.' In fact, view India in any aspect, and what a wide field presents itself, not only for philosophical investigation, but for practical exertions. . . . India may be viewed in a far nobler aspect than any to which we have as yet adverted. As a field for moral and intellectual exertion she stands perhaps unequalled in the world. Her millions, steeped in the deepest ignorance, demand not only the enquiring study, but the active benevolence of all who feel wherein consists the true dignity of man. That spirit which has preserved unchanged the social system of India, has operated with dismal force upon her moral and intellectual development. But is there not some brighter promise for the future? In the strenuous exertions which the Government have of late made to educate the native mind, we recognize the first effectual assault upon the superstition and ignorance of ages. Such are the claims of that country which the British public have hitherto regarded with indifference, and of which they are in consequence so lamentably ignorant. The extent of that ignorance can, perhaps, only be estimated by him who, long engaged in other pursuits at home, arrives in India whether as the ruler of his people, or the humble instrument of his authority. How painfully must all such feel their deficiency in that local and general knowledge which is so essential to their usefulness, and which, at the outset, at least, none can expect them to possess. Of the general ignorance at home there are but too many proofs. Not long since, during the Parliamentary discussions upon a question which deeply affected the moral and political welfare of the vast population of this country, a leading organ of public opinion declined all commentary upon proceedings, which, as it alleged, excited so little public interest. . . . Instead of tracing the causes of this strange indifference, or dwelling upon its extent, we turn rather to these bright prospects of improvement which are already rising upon our view. The time has arrived when the British Press can no longer overlook the claims of this country to public attention. Some whose prophetic glance extended beyond the passing hour, perceived even in its infancy that the steam-engine was destined to work a mighty revolution upon the whole surface of society. . . . The facility of establishing a steam communication between England and India is no longer a question for discussion; the battle has been already fought and won by the public and the Press of India. The system is still in its infancy—yet the barriers of time and space have been already surmounted with almost incredible success. When that system shall have attained its maturity, when its influence shall have extended to every accessible point of the Indian

Peninsula, when with the commerce of England, her arts and science, her feelings and opinions shall have become known to the millions subject to her sway—then may we look for those still nobler results which must inevitably follow in their train. Humbly but ardently to co-operate in that glorious movement, is the design of the publication which this day enters upon its existence."

This may, to the modern reader, seem somewhat too transcendental.

But we must speak becomingly of these early pioneers of the press. And let us thankfully admit that the progress of this country during the sixty years that have followed since the above was written, sixty years which very nearly correspond with the whole of the Victorian era, has followed pretty much on the lines anticipated, and that some of the "nobler results" so wistfully foreseen by the writer are already before our sight.

In the New Year's issue of 1839, the "ideal" of the *Times* is once again proclaimed:—"Placed as we are upon the connecting point of the Eastern and Western nations, our main object will be to awaken in each an interest in the condition and prospects of the other. To excite upon the one side, among our countrymen at home, some share of that attention towards their 'fellow men and fellow subjects of the East, which has been hitherto so contemptuously and so unaccountably withheld from them; and upon the other to diffuse among the inhabitants of this country some little notion of the advantages to be derived, not only from the Arts and Sciences, but from the moral, intellectual, and social advancement of Europe, such we may set forth as the general outline of our design. But we put this forward merely as the 'ideal' to which our efforts shall be directed, for while we are not vain enough to over-estimate how little any individual can effect in the furtherance of so vast an enterprise, we feel, upon the other hand, that every one, however humble, may do something towards its accomplishment."

On another interesting subject, the political views of the paper and the party to which it belonged, the editorial address has some very candid remarks. "We need scarcely say that it forms no part of our plan to enter into the arena of party politics. In our humble opinion the first requisite in a statesman is a perception of these two great truths, that the object of civil government is to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number of mankind, and that to obtain that end the course of society must be ever and essentially onwards; once, however, satisfied that the march is really in that direction, we

care little whether the banner is borne by Sir Robert Peel, or by Sir William Molesworth. . . . We are fully sensible of the advantages which we might secure to our journal, by judiciously selecting, in the first instance, some great section of society whose number or influence render them in general the arbiters of a journal's destiny, and accommodating our opinions as well as the expression of them to the standard of that party. But with whatever hazards to our interest as journalists, we shall neither put forward opinions which we do not believe, nor profess raptures which we do not feel. If from adopting such a course, consequences must result which many consider inevitable, we shall, at least, find consolation in the precept of our great poet ; ' Fit audience find, though few.' "

This sounds very independent; but the notion that a journal, in order to be politically influential, must be financially successful, had no recognition here !

We shall quote from the opening address one more paragraph before we have done with it, as it contains a prophecy about the prosperity of Bombay which the past sixty years have quite fulfilled. " The conviction is entertained by some resident in this Presidency that our city is destined to hold henceforth, in many respects, a position of far higher importance than any it has yet occupied. The establishment of the overland route for ever constitutes Bombay the point, not only of commercial, but also of political and social contact between Europe and the Eastern nations. . . . But we were never Utopian enough to think that the success of steam communication with India would outweigh those advantages which nature herself has bestowed upon our city. A single glance at the map will satisfy any impartial observer that while Bombay, possessed of an adequate steam establishment, can hold communication in two days with the shores of Scinde and Persia ; in less than a fortnight with those of Arabia and Egypt ; and we have no doubt eventually within the month, by the waters of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, with those of Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, and England, she must necessarily be the main channel of communication with all these countries, and that she must possess that privilege as long as she retains her geographical position upon the North-Western shores of the Indian Peninsula. This at least is our conviction, a conviction to which our present enterprise in a great measure owes its origin, and which if unfounded or absurd will, of course, carry with it its own correction."

Dr. Brennan, the first editor of the new paper, having died, as we have said above, in 1839, the paper was conducted for a time by Professor Henderson of the Elphinstone College, a Government servant, and afterwards by Dr. Knight of the

Bengal Medical Service, who later became Residency Surgeon at Kotah. In May, 1840, however, a new editor who had been selected because of the eminence he had attained as a provincial journalist in Scotland, arrived in Bombay and took charge of the paper. This was Dr. George Buist, the most distinguished journalist in India of his time. He came to Bombay with eight years' experience in the newspapers of Forfar, Perth, and Fife, and with an excellent scientific and literary training. He kept up his connection with the home papers throughout his stay here, being a valued contributor to some of the best London papers, including the *Times*, on Indian, political and scientific subjects. Buist stayed in Bombay for eighteen years, leaving it only to die a short time after in Allahabad. Seventeen of these eighteen years he spent in the service of the *Bombay Times*, making it the best and most extensively circulated journal in Western India, enjoying great personal influence, and commanding the respect of all men. Though he held one or two other posts, notably that of Meteorological Observer of Bombay, and took a large part in the public affairs of the city, he worked hard for the paper, and made it not only an influential organ of public opinion, but also a flourishing concern from a pecuniary point of view. The undertaking was a small one in those days; but, for all that, we learn from a paper published in 1850, when the *Bombay Times* changed its proprietors, that during the previous ten years Buist had earned as remuneration or free profit for his employers the sum of Rs. 3,30,000 in cash, besides meeting all the charges of the establishment and extending its strength and efficiency. The paper, in fact, flourished so much, yielding from 30 to 40 per cent. annually on the amount originally invested, that many of the most distinguished Government officials became shareholders as soon as the Court of Directors passed the order allowing its civil and military servants to be connected with the press. In 1847 the principal proprietors, after the editor, were the Puisne Judge of the Sudder Adawlut, the Collector of Customs, the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army, the Secretary to the Medical Board, who afterwards became Physician-General, and the Medical Storekeeper, who later became Superintending Surgeon at the Presidency.

The close connection which Government servants maintained with the *Bombay Times* in those days may also be seen from its subscription list. From a classified list of subscribers laid before the proprietors about the beginning of 1852, it appears that of every thousand subscribers, 123 were civil servants of the Government, 179 messes of regimental libraries, 317 military men, 52 British merchants, 36 banks and public corpora-

tions, 26 natives, 243 private individuals, uncovenanted servants, tradesmen, etc., the rest clergymen, lawyers, native rajahs, and the like. Thus two-thirds of the whole were officers under the Crown or covenanted servants of the Government. In the present day the Anglo-Indian papers, though they retain their hold upon the "Services," appeal to a much wider public and count a considerably larger proportion of the educated native community amongst their readers, thus realising one of the hopes set forth in the opening address of the *Times*.

Of his services to the public through the *Bombay Times* during the first twelve years of his editorship, we may learn, something from an account which Buist presented as a petition to the House of Commons during the periodical Parliamentary inquiry into the East India Company's affairs on the renewal of the Charter in 1852. In it he says, in a sentence which we cannot commend for its terseness, that he "not only devoted the columns of the *Bombay Times* to the advancement of good Government, to the spread of education, of improvement and economy, to the denunciation of those bloody and superfluous wars which within these twelve years have cost us thirty millions sterling, and that policy which under the name of expediency disregards the principles of truth and justice, and sets up a standard of morals for statesmen opposed to the principles of Christianity, and the evils of which to our name and characters, as Wellington has so well remarked, cannot be compensated by the most brilliant victories, but has, as far as circumstances permitted, endeavoured in his private capacity to promote the improvements he as an editor recommended—a circumstance to which numerous letters of acknowledgment received from Government bear ample testimony."

A rapid survey of the subjects which enlisted the attention of the first editor of this paper may be of interest. At the commencement of his editorial career Buist strongly condemned the Post Office arrangements of the day, and, in recommending their improvement, collected with great labour and care and published a vast mass of steam and mail statistics which he found scattered about in a hundred different quarters, and which he, for the first time, put into convenient and popular form; and the desired changes were in a great measure brought about in the course of two years. In 1840 he condemned the arrangements then made for the reception of sick soldiers from Aden, and a general order was, a few weeks afterwards, issued, securing the remedies suggested. On some larger questions of public policy the *Times* was opposed to the Government. Such was the case in the notorious discussions on Baroda matters, in which it had a very large number of Directors on its side. The enormous sums expended in the Afghan War, and the derange-

ment of our commercial relations occasioned by the transmission of so much specie to a country from which it could not for many years return, were early pointed out by the *Times* under its able editor. And its views were fully borne out by the state into which the finances of India had been brought in 1843, when the Hon'ble Mr. Bird, then President in Council, stated to Sir Henry Willock that the closing of the Treasury in September had been contemplated, and by the accounts of the Company since then published. As regards the first Afghan War, the *Times* pointed out that to maintain the Dooranee alliance was next to impossible, and the attempt to maintain ourselves in Afghanistan a folly which could not but issue in the most frightful disasters. Had the warnings then given been attended to in time, the events in Cabul which justified them six months after might have been avoided, and a dark chapter in our history left unwritten. Buist's condemnation of the conquest of Sind brought the paper and its editor into direct conflict with that rough-hewn hero, Sir Charles Napier. Buist saw folly and worse in our policy in Sind, and he was at first not credited. "Had the press or the politicians of England," as he wrote, "examined or believed the statements set forth by me and all since fully verified, the blot which Sind throws upon our good name might have been obliterated, and the disgrace and mischief it has occasioned us avoided." The controversy with Napier continued for a long time, and was carried on by Napier with all his peculiar vigour and rancour. After his death, his brother published a pamphlet against Buist, which certainly does no credit to the brave but eccentric General. The "Blatant Beast" Napier called him, and all the abuse and invective of which he was such a master, of course, recoiled on himself.

Dr. Buist continued editor till the Mutiny year—a year of crisis in the history of the journal as well as of India. The *Bombay Times* had come to be chiefly in the hands of native proprietors, who possessed a majority of its shares. They did not like the attitude which Buist had taken up during the early days of the Mutiny towards the Indian communities, and tried to bring him round to their views. Independent as he was, he naturally resented this, and pursued his own line in the paper till the end, which was fast approaching. The native proprietors in a majority successfully combined to remove him from the editorship towards the close of 1857. Buist, on retirement from the *Times*, founded, in 1858, with the help of his friends, a new paper called the *Standard*, which, however, did not flourish. Mr. Dosabhai Framjee, C.S.I., was then manager of the *Times*, and Buist, recognising his ability, invited him to join in his new venture. But young Dosabhai stuck to the old ship

loyally, and continued to be its manager for a little longer, when he left it to enter upon the official career in which he gained esteem and distinction.

Mr. Dosabhai was one of the ruling Parsis who have rendered distinguished and valuable services to the *Times* throughout its entire career. The Parsis have been connected with the press in Bombay from its very commencement. The old *Courier* had Parsi printers and compositors in the last century, and every Anglo-Indian paper and press in Bombay has had to depend upon that enterprising and intelligent race for its chief hands. Of the assistance which the Parsis rendered to the *Times of India* one of its proprietors and managers, Mr. Matthias Mull, thus spoke, after his retirement, before the Society of Arts in London: "For a long period he had had a considerable number of Parsis in his employ, and without their assistance, especially in the early days of printing in India, it would have been difficult for him to have conducted journalism effectively. He had Portuguese, Hindus, Mahomedans also in his employ; but the Parsis surpassed those races in every way; for, though the latter were willing to do what was required, they were wanting in the strenuous qualities necessary in journalistic operations, and thus the Parsis always came to the front. He had remarked for years the tenacity with which they pursued anything they took in hand, and to that element in their character he attributed the success and influence of the whole community."

The proprietors offered the editorship of the *Times*, after the retirement of Buist, to Mr. Robert Knight, who had been an occasional contributor during Dr. Buist's regime. He was a merchant, and his strong point was public finance. He had also great sympathy with the natives, which Buist, it may be said here, never lacked, until the excitement of the Mutiny influenced his judgment against them. His great labours for the Sewree School of Industry, in which he spent nearly his whole fortune, ought alone to show that he had at heart the good of the Indian people. But perhaps he lacked the exuberant and almost aggressive sympathy which was the characteristic of Robert Knight, who was therefore very popular with the natives. Mr. Knight remained editor for nearly seven years, from 1858 to 1864, and did much to render the paper popular, especially among the educated natives, by his ardent advocacy of several much-needed political reforms. The native proprietors and others who owned shares in the paper parted with it in 1860, and sold it to their editor, who took into partnership the manager, Mr. Matthias Mull. The paper which Buist had started as the rival of the *Times* could not hold on, and within two years it was merged into the latter, which became the *Bombay*

Times and Standard. On May 18th, 1861, the paper abandoned the local name of the *Bombay Times* and took to itself the imperial name of the *Times of India*. We shall quote here the remarks with which it assumed this new style :—"After the existence of nearly a quarter of a century the *Bombay Times* this day loses its modest title to become the Imperial *Times of India*. We are not insensible of the disadvantages that attend the change ; nor have we decided upon it without maturely weighing these disadvantages against the considerations that have led to its adoption. Among the foremost of these is the fact that Bombay is already the capital city of India, although not as yet the seat of the Supreme Government. It is to the Bombay Press that the home public look for intelligence from all parts of India, and upon it must the Indian public wait at no distant period for the news of the world. The point of arrival and departure of all the mails ; the centre of the great interest that binds the two countries together ; Imperial in its resources whether for commerce or war ; and the natural emporium and capital of Asia—there is a future before Bombay that the most sanguine cannot adequately forecast. While the city is Imperial, its Press has been hitherto, in title, only provincial, and in announcing ourselves as the *Times of India* we are simply undertaking to keep up with the march of events. Again, the purely local title we have hitherto borne, has hardly done justice to our circulation, which extends to every heart of India, while the *Overland Summary* of the *Bombay Times* is a paper with which people are familiar in every part of the world. For these and other considerations which may possibly suggest themselves to the reader, we have expanded into an Imperial title, and we wish our subscribers to understand the change to be a pledge that all we can do to make the journal worthy to bear it will be done. The rapid increase in our subscription list affords gratifying proof that our exertions are appreciated, and it will be the steady effort of the proprietors to keep pace with, if they cannot surpass, the first expectations of the public." A few weeks after this change of title, the old *Telegraph and Courier* was also incorporated with the paper.

The latter days of Mr. Robert Knight's editorship coincided with the days of Bombay's temporary and extraordinary prosperity owing to the cotton famine brought about by the American War. Crores upon crores of rupees flowed into the city, which thus held money very cheap indeed. Mr. Knight retired at the height of this wave of prosperity, and his native friends gave him a purse of three-quarters of a lakh for his zealous services in their cause. With this he went to Calcutta, where he lost more than the money that generous and appreciative Bombay had given him, and where, after many struggles and reverses, he

again established himself as a leading journalist in the *Statesman*. Mr. Knight's editorship was marked by great energy and independence; and his financial ability, shown in times when the entire financial policy and position of the country were being re-adjusted, after the terrible strain and drain of the Mutiny, by experts from home like Wilson and Laing, gave the paper a distinctive character, and its criticisms on matters of imperial finance and taxation were highly valued. Several pamphlets which Mr. Knight wrote under the pseudonym of *Times of India*, based on his articles in that paper, still attest his great knowledge of Indian questions.

Robert Knight was succeeded, in 1865, as editor and part proprietor by Mr. Martin Wood, who presided over the destinies of this paper for a decade. This decade was a very eventful one for Bombay and the Empire. The short-lived prosperity of the early sixties proved a delusion and a snare, and betrayed the city into one of the most disastrous monetary crises that have overtaken any country and people. The share-mania of 1864-65, and the terrible crash that followed it, shook the commercial prosperity of the city to its foundations, and retarded its progress for years. To the undue elation caused by the two short years of prosperity succeeded more than undue gloom and despair. The *Times of India* shared neither of these extreme feelings. It gave distinct warnings against the commercial bubbles and financial will-o'-the-wisps which a credulous public too eagerly pursued. Yet, when the crash came, and people were given up to despair, it did not try to deepen the depression, but pointed out various considerations which would have a "tonic effect on the will of the commercial public." We may quote from the remarks which appeared on the memorable 1st of July, 1865, the day for the settlement of time-bargains which is still so bitterly remembered in Western India. "It is easy to-day to see that we have gone sadly wrong in having chosen the path of speculation rather than that of production; though it is not quite so clear where it was that the two paths divided, or what it was that pushed Bombay from the true path of steady material development. Perhaps, the traditional aversion of the *Sircar* and the other part of the Service to developers and Western industry might have a deterring effect, in the first instance; then, when certain local circumstances set the fashion of a sort of congested instrument within the island itself, the heedless crowd followed. Still we do not see that strangers of the West have any right to lecture us hereon. Yet on this day when Bombay does penance for the errors committed it is a fitting time to acknowledge our mistakes, and so to take the first step in the path of repentance. Though

the *Overland Mail* is quite wrong in speaking as if there could be any general 'over production' of useful commodities, we must ruefully admit that there has been a decided over-production under the head of 'financials,' and in all the machinery that is merely intermediate in the work of international commerce. How this has come to pass is a question which may stand over for answer at another opportunity; but from this day should date some better-devised and more comprehensive efforts on the part of our leading capitalists towards developing the inexhaustible resources of Western India. It is true that a desire for a high rate of profit must be laid aside, and Eastern notions of rapid gain will have to be replaced with the Western maxim of 'slow but sure.' No time, however, could be so opportune for the growth of sober views of commercial progress as will be this gloomy month of July in the monsoon of 1865. . . . When this first of July is passed we shall breathe freely once more; but let Bombay never forget the lessons which the results of this day should teach."

Among other important events of those ten years was the Abyssinian War, which was very ably reported for the *Times of India* by a gifted correspondent, Mr. Shepherd, whose letters were read with eagerness by all and appreciated in the highest quarters. Indeed, war correspondence has been the special feature and strong point of the paper from its earliest days. The first Afghan War had just commenced when the *Bombay Times* was established, and steps were at once taken by its directors to have full and accurate accounts sent by eye-witnesses. Its correspondents were unusually well-informed, and gave many things which were suppressed in the official narratives. The letters on the first Afghan War were collected in book form in 1843, and this rare volume, one of the earliest to be issued from the *Bombay Times* office, contains an exceptionally reliable account of that disastrous war which they recorded. The second Afghan War of forty years later was also ably narrated in its columns by an officer well known for his accurate and extensive knowledge of the lands and the people of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

In the period when Bombay was slowly recovering from the effects of the crisis of 1865, its Municipal matters attracted a great deal of attention, and the foundations were then laid of all the sanitary and other works that have benefited the city so much. The *Times* warmly supported the policy of Municipal reforms. But when some of the executive officers told off for this work mismanaged the whole thing, it was outspoken in its criticisms. "The Government now know, and all India knows, that the law has been violated by our Municipal

officers; formal restraints have been systematically spurned; unauthorised expenditure has been incurred and concealed to a very serious extent; the public creditor has been placed in jeopardy; costly outlay has been promoted without anything approaching to adequate results, while many most needful works of civic improvement remain in abeyance; and the people of this most populous city in India, where modern corporate institutions might be expected to work best, have been disgusted with the very name of Municipality to such an extent that years must pass before the requisite confidence and spirit of co-operation can again be evoked."

Among events of minor importance may be noted two matters which stirred the Parsee community deeply, the Towers of Silence case of 1873 and the Bombay Riots of 1874. The Parsees are hard to please, especially when their passions are strongly roused, as was unfortunately the case in both these matters; yet the fair policy of the *Times of India*, which was neither violently against them in the first case nor passionately in their favour in the second, like its contemporary the *Gazette*, was appreciated by them.

Mr. Martin Wood was succeeded as editor by Mr. Grattan Geary, who directed the paper with ability and tact during the years of famine, war and financial difficulty which marked Lord Lytton's rule in this country. A change in the proprietorship had previously occurred which conduced greatly to its benefit. When Mr. Mull retired from the proprietorship, his share was taken by Colonel Nassau Lees; and on Mr. Wood's retirement, Colonel Lees became the sole proprietor. Being himself of literary tastes, as may be seen from his writings and especially his editions of the Persian historians of India for the Bengal Asiatic Society, he took a great interest in the journal, developed its resources, and placed it on a sound financial basis.

When Mr. Geary left the *Times*, in 1880, to become editor and proprietor of the *Gazette*, which he had taken over from Mr. J. M. Maclean, when the latter went home in search of a Parliamentary career, Colonel Lees appointed Mr. Henry Curwen to the editorship. He could not have made a better selection; and it is within the knowledge of all that the work Mr. Curwen did on the paper more than justified his choice. Under Mr. Curwen's control the paper was gradually modernized and transformed. The fullest scope was given for its development upon the distinctively literary side, but special pains was taken to make it above all things a newspaper, and a complete and comprehensive record of contemporary events.

Mr. Curwen had been Mr. Geary's Assistant Editor from 1876 to 1880, and during this period had acted several times as

independent editor during his chief's absence on his tour through Asiatic Turkey and other places. He was of a distinctly literary turn of mind, and had done good literary work in London before he came out to India. He devoted himself entirely to the paper, which he gradually transformed from its former somewhat old-fashioned state into its present condition. Its size, matter, get up, everything gradually, but steadily, improved. His proprietor quite entered into his spirit, and gave him a free hand and a blank cheque for the development of his paper. He was ably assisted on the business side by the manager, the late Mr. C. E. Kane, who was inspired by the same motives of rendering the paper one of the foremost in every way in the East. Both Mr. Curwen and Mr. Kane entered upon their work in 1880; and during the next ten years, until the death of their proprietor in 1889, made the paper flourish so well that Colonel Lees, in his will, directed that, on his death, they should have the first refusal of the journal at a stated price. Its value had more than trebled during this period. The two friends bought it from the executors of their late master, and in 1890 entered upon the task of still further improving and developing what had now become their own concern, a task from which both were relieved too soon, the one in only two and the other in four years.

Mr. Curwen's control of the paper extended from 1880 to the time of his death in February, 1892, a period perhaps the most important in the history of this country since the Mutiny. To recount the services which he did to the public through the *Times of India* is to recount the history of those years, for there was not a single act or event of any importance during that time upon which the paper did not speak. His point of view was Imperial, only so far as they bore upon the welfare and dignity of the Empire. He heartily supported, from this point of view, the policy of Lord Dufferin, especially as regards the North-West frontier and the inevitable conquest of Burmah. On local Municipal and other matters he had no sectional views or theories, and was ever ready to support a scheme which promised general usefulness. On the other hand, he was on the alert to expose any meditated or attempted fraud on the public, as may be seen from many instances, especially the case of an impostor named Thomas who tried to fleece the public by means of a bogus company. His own decidedly literary temperament was accurately reflected in the *Times of India* as it developed under his hands. Anxious for the adequate treatment of the various subjects that arose for discussion in his columns, he gathered round him an able staff of contributors from all parts of the country. As he himself used to point

out, a leading Anglo-Indian paper here has to do the work which at home is done by several distinct journals. Such a paper ought to be the *Athenæum*, *Nature*, *Lancet*, *Broad Arrow*, *Saturday Review*, all rolled in one. It was, therefore, his ambition to act up to this standard, and to treat special subjects as they are treated in specialist journals. The changes in the *personnel* of the *Times of India* in the last decade of the century have been numerous, but there is no need to chronicle them here. A great newspaper is a great institution, dependent as much upon tradition and upon the character which is built up for it by a succession of workers as upon fleeting personal factors. Men come and go, but institutions live, and those who are associated with the journal to-day ought to be content if the steady and unbroken development which it has undergone during the last sixty years, and the character it has acquired in that time, may be worthily maintained in the future.

A word may here be said as to the "local habitations" and migrations of the paper. The original offices of the *Bombay Times* were in Colaba, somewhere at the end of the Causeway, to the left of the Wodehouse Bridge, in what were known as Maneckjee's Buildings. Thence they were removed to Rutterfield Street, Military Square, in a house which also is now pulled down. The next migration was to a house, which still exists, in Bell Lane, Meadows Street, opposite the Fort Chapel. When the paper became the *Times of India*, the offices were removed to No. 2, Church Gate Street, in the house occupied recently by its contemporary. After nearly a quarter of a century's stay there it migrated to the large offices in Parsee Bazaar Street, in which the paper and its press have been since located. The continuous growth of the printing establishment connected with the paper, however, at length necessitated the acquisition of additional premises, and in July last the *Times of India* enlarged its borders by moving a part of its staff and plant into the spacious and splendid building recently occupied as administrative offices by the Bombay and Baroda Railway—a not inappropriate way of celebrating the approach of its Diamond Jubilee.

ART. VI.—THE HILSA.

THE *Hilsa* is, perhaps, the finest and most delicious of all the fishes that are found in this country. Any one who has had the opportunity of boating on the waters of the Hooghly of an evening, in the rainy season must have seen swarms of fishermen netting these silvery fish, as they glide down the swift current of the rushing stream in their tiny boats. The fluttering *Hilsa* in the net, as soon as it is caught, looks like the veritable 'silver-bow new bent in heaven.' With its streaks of golden tint all over the body and the fine vermillion tinge on its face, how beautiful a sight it is!

Oriental poets have styled it the 'king of fishes' and have sung its praises in no measured terms. It is a purely Asiatic fish and is found in the fresh waters of almost all the big rivers of this country. Its origin, however, is the Indian Ocean, the depths of which it is said to inhabit during the winter months. During the rest of the year it makes migrations northwards and westwards.

The favourite resort of the *Hilsa* is the river Ganges, especially that part of it known as the Padma, which literally teems with it during the rainy season, and where it is even found all the year round. What numbers are caught there may be conceived from the fact that millions are sent every year by railway to Calcutta and other places for consumption. Not to speak of the Hooghly, where it is found in the summer in fair numbers, it is met with far up even in the Indus and down the Krishna, the Kaveri and the Irrawady rivers.

It is a known fact that the majority of the high-caste Hindus who live up-country and in the Deccan abstain from fish on account of religious scruples. It is in Bengal that it is chiefly valued as an article of food. The Sikhs of the Punjab, of course, consume it freely; but nevertheless it is Bengal that is the principal fish-eating province in India, and the beautiful *Hilsa* is appreciated here more than anywhere else. Not only is it eaten fresh, but millions are salted and sent all over the province as a commodity of commerce.

The *Hilsa* belongs to the Clupea family. It is the Indian *Shad*, and to a great extent resembles the *Herring* and *Salmon*. It is distinguished by the absence of sensible teeth. It is much larger than the herring, attaining sometimes to a length of two feet. Its tail is much forked and on each side of the lower margin of the belly the scales are large. It has narrow and short intermaxillary bones; and the inferior edge of the body, upon which the scales project like the teeth.

of a saw, is sharp and compressed. Besides, the maxillaries are divided into three pieces. The branchial openings are very much cleft, and hence fish of this class die speedily when removed from their native element. The branchial arches are furnished on the side next the mouth with pectiniform dentations. Its stomach has the form of an elongated pouch; the swimming bladder is long and pointed, and sends forward two long and small processes, which have connections with the internal ear. It has the most numerous and the finest bones of all fishes.

The length of its head, and height are each one-fourth of the whole length of the fish. The opening of the mouth is of moderate size; the lower lip is emarginate, while the upper jaw unlike that of the *Herring*, is distinguished by an emargination also, precisely as in *Shad*. The attachment of the ventral fin corresponds to the middle of the dorsal, which is placed further forwards than in the *Herring*. The anal is longer and situate nearer the caudal fin than in the *Herring*. There are ten rays to the gill-covers which have irregular black, as well as yellow, spots behind them. It has one dorsal which has eighteen rays. The pectoral has fourteen, and the ventral, which is just under the abdomen, whence the order *Abdominales* derives its name, has eight rays. The anal has twenty rays, while in the herring it has only sixteen. The sub-opercle is quadrangular; the pre-opercle and opercle are striated, as well as rounded. The number of the vertebræ is fifty-five. The ribs are rounded and present the appearance of slender spiculæ. Lateral spines are attached to the vertebræ above the true ribs and stand in two rows. There are eighteen ribs and the number of lateral spines or false ribs seems to be about eight. The swimming bladder communicates by a tube or tunnel with the intestinal canal and directly with the base of the stomach. It has a remarkable connection with the organs of hearing, as pointed out by Weber with regard to this class of fish. The cœca are numerous. As already stated above, the body is compressed and its lower edge serrated.

The union of the swimming bladder with the ears is effected by means of large air-canals which are given off from the swimming bladder and enter the labyrinth. The number of the thoracic vertebræ is forty-five and that of the caudal ten, making in all, as stated above, fifty-five.

The eyes, as in the *Herring* and *Mackerel*, are covered with an adipose fold of transparent whiteness both before and behind; but these folds are fixed, and, being unprovided with muscles, have no mobility whatsoever.

The liver, which is coloured brown, is trilobed. It gives off a large quantity of oil—more than is found in any other Indian fish.

The ovaries are double, and, instead of being entirely saciform, are like flattened plates, from the lower surface of which folds or laminated projections, shaped like a frill, take their rise, and in these the ova are developed. The colour of the eggs is yellow. They are extremely soft and esteemed a great delicacy. In fact, there is hardly any other Indian fish the roe of which is so greatly valued as an article of food.

The scales are soft and flexible, with simple rounded margins with more or less linear markings upon the upper surface and are provided with slightly jagged edges. They consist of transparent or highly refractive laminæ, like mother-of-pearl. The *Hilsa*, if classified with reference to the structure of its scales, will fall under the great order of the *Cycloidians*, or circle-scaled fish of M. Agassiz.

The *Hilsa* ascends the rivers in the beginning of summer in very small numbers ; but it generally delays entering them in great numbers until the streams become somewhat swollen by the rains. In the former case it collects at the mouths of rivers, a few only running up into the larger rivers, such as the Ganges, the Bhagirathy and the Brahmaputra, at this season, deterred perhaps by the clearness of the stream, or by some instinct which tells it that the water is not yet fit for its peregrinations. But, as the freshets approach, an increased activity is observed. The fish, on entering, rush forward with all their might as long as the flood continues, seldom resting in their course during the time that the water remains discoloured.

Dr. Buchanan thus describes the migratory habits of this fish. "The *Hilsa*, like the salmon in Europe, swarms up the large rivers at the commencement of the South West Monsoon, as it is only in fresh water that their eggs can be brought to maturity. If these rivers are not barred by weirs, they continue their ascent for some hundreds of miles, lay their eggs in suitable spots, and then return to the ocean as lean and poor in condition as a salmon out of season."

At what rate they travel can be ascertained only by knowing the ultimate length of their course in rivers. For instance, where the rivers are deeper and the interruptions less frequent, as in the Ganges, they are seen in the rainy season as far up as Benares and Cawnpore, though in small numbers. I have personally seen the *Hilsa* taken by fishermen in the Jumna at Allahabad and had one of these delicious fish served on my table at Cawnpore. Now, Benares is over five hundred, and Cawnpore seven hundred, miles from the mouth of the Bay of Bengal, and to cover this distance in a month or three weeks shows at least that the rate at which they can travel daily may reach 25 miles.

Dr. Buchanan thus writes about the *Hilsa* fish :—"This species

is called Sable Fish by the English, and is the most important in Bengal. It has a strong resemblance to that called la Feinte by Lacepède, but has no teeth. During the floods it ascends in immense numbers to spawn in the Ganges and its larger branches for 500 miles from the sea, and retires as the rivers decrease. It is usually about a foot and-a-half long, and is a rich, highly-flavoured fish. In taste it resembles somewhat the salmon and herring, to which last it has the strongest affinity. It is, however, rather heavy and difficult of digestion.

It is most extensively distributed over the whole of East Bengal, being found in most streams and rivers. If you wish to see it newly taken in its silvern glory, go to the broad, rapid-flowing and turbulent Padma and see how it is caught there by the most simple process. In a small boat about 26 ft. long and 6 ft. broad a couple of fishermen sit lengthwise, each at its furthest extremity, and drop a short or moderate-sized bag-net, attached by means of a couple of ropes, into the river. The length of the bag is about 24 ft. and its width 6 ft. The drop is about 30 ft. and hence the catching of this fish is always carried on in deep water. The fishermen manage the boat, which is kept broadside on to the stream, and allowed to descend with it, as well as the nets, which they hold by means of two strong cords. They drift down slowly and silently until a sharp pull is felt. The cords are then swiftly drawn up with the much-wished-for prey. Its struggles are over in a few minutes. The mesh of the *Hilsa* net is somewhat large, about four inches square, and is peculiarly strong. The fishing boats are sharp at each end and broadest abaft the middle. They cost about 60 Rupees each and will last a score of years, but require frequent repairs. The net is usually made of *son*, which the fishermen weave at their leisure. A heavy weight of stone is attached to this bag-net by means of a tight twine in order to keep it straight. A couple of similar weights are kept in the boat for the purpose of holding fast the cords attached to the nets. These stones weigh over 20 lbs. each.

The *Hilsa* fisheries near Goalundo and Kushtea are the most valuable in the country. Perhaps in no other part of India and in no other stream do so many fishermen from all sides of Bengal assemble to carry on this fishing pursuit. Goalundo is a village in the district of Faridpore, situated at the junction of the Padma and Jamna (Brahmaputra) rivers, and is the great centre of the *Hilsa* fish trade. These fisheries of Faridpore contribute in no small degree to its material wealth. It is reported by the Collector of the district that a traffic to the extent of £20,000 is annually carried on in the produce of the fisheries, which are

let out to landholders by Government at very profitable rents. Fishermen take every year leases of certain portions of the rivers for fishing, especially the *Hilsa*. One section is leased out at no less than Rs.50,000 a year, a couple of others at Rs. 20 to 25 thousand annually, and so on. Some conception may be formed from these figures of the number of the fish captured.

In addition to the simple mode of capture which I have described above, and which on account of its cheapness is resorted to by the majority of fishermen, there is another way of netting the *Hilsa* on a grand scale in the Padma. It is by means of a drift-net. These drift-nets, which go by the name of *Jagat-ber* (world-wide), are some thirty feet deep by a hundred and twenty feet long, well-corked at the top and with lead at the bottom. A dozen or so of these nets are sometimes attached together lengthways, by tying them along a thick rope and at the ends of each net to one another. To deposit these nets in the river, no less than five or six boats, each manned by half a dozen rowers and a couple of fishermen, are required. The net hangs suspended in the water, perpendicularly about 20 or 25 cubits deep from the main rope and extends even to a mile and a half, depending on the the number of nets engaged. The nets are generally shot in the evening, allowed to remain in the water all night and hauled in in the morning. By this means prodigious quantites of the fish are secured, and in one drift net no fewer than 1,500 fish are bagged. I have heard from most reliable sources that the day's take in the Padma sometimes comes to a million fish and more; and, considering the extent of the fisheries, I have no hesitation in saying that the number is not exaggerated.

In certain seasons when this fish is unusually numerous and abundant, the lower classes actually live on it for months together. Dr. Basu, the Civil Surgeon of Faridpore, who has had fifteen year's local experience states that the markets have always appeared to be fully supplied and oftentimes glutted. During the famine of 1866 many poor people there lived entirely upon it. In the *Hilsa* season of 1882, the fish brought to market so far exceeded the demand for some time, that a considerable part had to be thrown away at the end of each day's sale. The railway could carry it no more, and even the Calcutta markets had far more than the public could consume and the rotten fish had to be transported to Dhappa and there buried or thrown away at the cost of the Corporation. The quantity of the fish brought daily from Goalundo by the Eastern Bengal Railway to Calcutta, including Naihati, Uditpore, Barrackpore and Magra, is roughly estimated at 600 maunds, corresponding to about 20,000 fish. A far larger number than

this are sent away by steamers and boats to Assam and other parts of the country. Lastly, perhaps the largest quantity of the fish is salted and exported to every creek and corner of the Bengal province.

This salting business is carried on on the banks of the Padma. It is a strange scene of bustle and life. The salting stages are temporary huts, long and low, perched on the steep banks, in some places projecting over the river. The day's take—perhaps 1,000 to a boat—is thrown up and lies in a heap on the floor on wooden planks or mats. The women then come out with their long fish knives (*botis*), which they hold by their wooden handles with their feet. The head and face are first completely emptied of their contents. Then the trunk is sliced off in parts, in such a way as to keep the back of the fish quite intact, some of the entrails including the bile being taken away ; but the roe and the liver are allowed to remain. The big scales are removed, but the others are left as they are. Then they are thrown into earthen jars on beds of salt, one layer over another, which ends this salting process. The salted fish are sent at once to all parts of Bengal, but are generally consumed by the lower classes. In the Brahmaputra large numbers of this fish are dried in the sun.

During the *chota bursat*, a few *Hilsa* fish appear in the larger rivers and are caught by a sort of stake-net placed near the shore. But the season begins in the beginning of April and lasts up to August. In September hardly any of the fish are found in the Hoogly. In the Padma they are seen in countless numbers even in October. It is generally believed that the fish captured there are larger, fatter, and of a better quality than those of the Hoogly. August seems to be the latest time of their spawning, after which they dwindle in form and size and descend to the sea—where their former condition and silvery lustre are regained, their strength recuperated, and all their functions so repaired as to enable them to renew their visit to the same stream in the following season.

What becomes of the fry? It is an undisputed fact that, after the eggs have been once safely deposited on river-beds, either under sandy gravel or in holes, they are taken no care of by the mother-fish. As many as 80,000 eggs have been counted in the belly of one fish, and it may be fairly inferred from this that it was never intended by Providence that she should watch her countless off-spring with the same tender care and affection as animals and birds do. The ova, after lying inactive for a month, vivify about October and increase in size most rapidly. By November they have attained the length of five or six inches, and fishermen begin netting them in very

large numbers. The young of the *Hilsa* are, however, very clearly distinguishable as such, although they do not look as beautiful as the mature fish. They are at this time of a greenish grey above and silvery below, the scales being extremely delicate and deciduous. They are known as the *Ilish Khoira* fish, and fishermen assert emphatically that they are not a distinct species.

In February they appear as full-fledged *Hilsas*, though attaining a size of no more than eight or ten inches. They are then called *Goda Hilsas*, or the dwarfs of the species. They do not usually remain in the small rivers for more than a month; but, as soon as they get strength and energy, troop down in shoals to the open sea, where they exult in the boundless waters of the deep until spawning season returns again.

It is a curious fact that this fish does not take the bait and hence cannot be caught with the hook, all efforts in that direction having hitherto proved fruitless. This is due, perhaps, to the fish dwelling generally off the coasts of rivers and always running at a great speed, seldom stopping anywhere. It throws also a flood of light on the food of the *Hilsa*, regarding which considerable doubt has always prevailed. Fishermen have described the stomach of the fish as quite empty, or at most, containing a little sand, even when it is in its best condition and with the finest flavour. This is, of course, the main reason why, of all fishes, it does not take the bait; while, if it were accustomed to eat worms, vermin and small fish, it could very surely be caught with the hook. In this respect it differs greatly from the *Shad*, which lives chiefly on insects and smaller fishes.

It is to be regretted that the investigation of the habits of the *Hilsa* has not engaged the attention which its importance as an article of food demands. Another curious fact with regard to it is that it cannot live anywhere except in running waters, and all attempts to naturalise it in large ponds and pools have hitherto proved futile. A friend of mine who has actually been an eye-witness to an attempt to transfer it from the river to a pool, describes what happened as follows:—"As soon as the *Hilsa* was dropped by the fisherman from the nets into the pool, it swam across to the other side of it in the twinkling of an eye and struck right on the banks. It was again thrown into the pool, and again the same clean sweep to the other side of it! After repeating this process four or five times, the fish lay gasping to die."

It has been found to ascend even hill streams and torrents, but such instances are rare.

It is said to have a dry and disagreeable flavour when taken at sea.

The fish contains oil in most copious quantities, which it

gives out freely in cooking. This oil is carefully collected in the Eastern districts by the poorer people to cook their food with in other seasons, as well as for the purpose of lighting their lamps. It is the oil which gives so much flavour and taste to the flesh of the fish. For this reason it is always eaten in East Bengal by the rich and middle classes of natives without extracting the oil. The best way of preparing it is to cut it into slices—for which the lower part of the body is admirably adapted, as it contains far fewer bones than the upper—and to put it within newly-boiled rice amidst a couple of plantain leaves, the heat being sufficient to broil it without the oil being washed out by a boiling process and much of the taste and flavour being lost. Those who use it without its oil, by frying it, or by turning the frying fish into a soup, not only lose its delicious and flavour, but also find the flesh difficult of digestion. The natives of East Bengal have also a beautiful process of extracting all the bones and forming the flesh into a sort of pulpy roll, long or short, as desired, which is then cooked in curries and soups with an admixture of vegetables and becomes most palatable to the taste. Finally, it can be turned into an excellent pickle when cooked with old tamarind and slightly sweetened with sugar, the whole thing being seasoned with chillies. It would take more space than I can command if I were to enumerate here the various ways in which the roe of this fish is cooked, sometimes by itself, but often with other ingredients.

I said in the beginning of this article that the abode of the *Hilsa* is the river Pudma. That it is so, is now an undoubted fact, for the *Hilsa* is born, bred and nurtured in the waters of this magnificent river. True, the setting in of the monsoon brings innumerable swarms of the fish from the ocean every year; but, as a matter of fact, there are millions already there which do not go to the sea with the rest, but remain in the Pudma, where they have their chosen spots which they frequent daily, or at certain intervals. The young fry especially do not migrate with the old fish to the sea, but live, move and have their being in the fresh water of the river until they grow to a small sized *Hilsa*. It is these beautiful little things that are caught during the winter in the Pudma by hundreds and thousands and sent, sometimes by special trains, to the Calcutta market, which they frequently glut, to the infinite relief of the poor, who then indulge in this dainty to their hearts' content.

These special trains convey daily no fewer than fifteen hundred thousand fish. It is a matter of wonder that it is in winter that the supply in Calcutta reaches its height, owing, no doubt, to the fact that the cold weather helps a good deal towards the preservation of the fish, and hence a far larger

number are sent from places not only in the neighbourhood of Goalundo, but also from many more distant. In our rivers here the supply dwindles to almost nothing during the winter season. There is a great superstition in the way of netting *Ilish Khoird*, that is the young of the *Hilsa*, amongst the fishermen of the Pudma, and they never, as a rule, catch it. This saves the smaller fish from destruction at a time when it would be most detrimental to the propagation and multiplication of the species. Our fishermen here have no such scruples, and the massacre of the innocents is carried on freely to the detriment of the development of the fish supply in this part of the country.

The *Hilsa* was once very common in the Brahmaputra, but it has become scarce there of late years. It is, however, found in the Tista and the Rangit. In the rivers of the Madras Presidency it was formerly found in great abundance; but the obstruction of their mouths by weirs of late years has greatly diminished its numbers.

The scarcity of this fish last year attracted considerable attention amongst fishermen and the public at large. In the Bhagiruthi, Barrackpore, Hooghly, Guptipara, Damurda, &c., are the places which are usually most frequented by this fish, and as many as four or five hundred or more are caught daily at these places. But last year scarcely half-a-dozen fish were caught daily at any of them. Even in the Pudma the number fell far short of that of previous years. The reason of this scarcity was probably want of rain, which can alone produce floods. It is known as certain that the higher the floods, the larger is the number of the fish. In fact fishermen often say that a bumper crop and a plentiful supply of *Hilsa* go hand in hand. The public were not only deprived of a great luxury last year, but the fishermen as a class suffered a terrible loss. The *Hilsa* supplies them with their yearly income, and the want of it told seriously on them at a time when the dearness of food grains greatly increased the cost of living.

As regards the Ganges, the *Hilsa* is caught, of course, in the largest numbers in the Pudma; but the fisheries at Bhagalpore and Monghyr yield a fairly good return, and those at Patna and Gya always produce a very handsome outturn, they being in fact the best in that part of the country. The *Hilsa* mart at Patna is a very famous one, and is resorted to by people from far and near.

Ignorant people have ascribed to the oil of this fish the same medicinal properties which are found in the oil of the cod-liver. No doubt, they have been misled by the fact that there is a great similarity in the smell of the two oils. It is for medical men to try the experiment and see how far it will serve the desired object. The only

fish that are used as restoratives in this country are the *Koi* and *Magur* ; and the *Hilsa* is always considered to have exactly the opposite result. The flesh of the cod has been always regarded as light and wholesome, while that of the *Hilsa* is considered heavy and difficult of digestion.

There is a notion universally current amongst the people of Bengal that the *Hilsa* generally lives near the surface of the water. The science of ichthyology supports this view. Mr. Yarrell observes :—"Those fish that swim near the surface of the water have a high standard of respiration, great necessity for oxygen, die soon, almost immediately, when taken out of water, and have flesh prone to rapid decomposition. On the contrary, those that live near the bottom have a low standard of respiration and less necessity for oxygen ; they sustain life long after they are taken out of water, and their flesh remains good for several days." This principle, tested by the standard of experience, fails in some cases and is therefore not of universal application, but it is, no doubt, generally true. The *Hilsa* is supposed by some to come merely from the deep into shallow water during the spawning season. But this belief is at variance with the scientific view quoted above, and very little weight can be attached to it. Fishermen say that moonlight produces a soporific influence on the *Hilsa*, and hence advantage is taken of moonlight nights in capturing it along sandbanks in the midst of rivers. In clear moonlit nights the *Hilsa* have been seen by fishermen rubbing their bellies against the sand. It is not known for certain whether they deposit in that way their ova there, or do it merely as a pastime. Others lie close to them quite motionless—whether exhausted after depositing their eggs, or simply asleep, it is difficult to say. I mention these facts as stated to me by practical fishermen who have grown grey in capturing these fish. It has also been suggested that the only food taken by them is the sand of the river, which is probably mixed with some minute crustaceous matter. For one or other of these reasons the fish is often found in larger quantities near sandy *chars* than elsewhere.

J. L. CHAUDHURY.

ART. VII.—A DEFINITION OF CULTURE.

“**A**S is always the case,” says Tolstoi, in his dry way, “the more dim and indefinite the meanings given to words, the more confidently and assuredly do people use them; they make as though what was understood by the word was so simple and clear that it is not worth while even to talk about its meaning.”

In reading this, a few days ago, in Tolstoi's recent contribution to the theory of Art, I was vividly reminded of much that has been written recently touching Education and Culture; their relations and limits; their aims and purpose; the value of languages and science, for these ends; and the relative value of living and dead tongues.

And, thinking over Tolstoi's words, I realised that, while I had been reading these essays, such was their charm and vigour, I had come to believe that I knew quite well what education was; what success in life meant, and how to gain it; why we study languages, or leave them for sciences: and, above all, I thought I clearly saw what was, and what was not, practical.

But now, looking back over the matter, when time has somewhat abated the glamour of these writings, I feel much more uncertain. I am no longer so confident that I really do know all these things; and I find myself forced to cast about for some general statement, or broad idea, by which to try the matter. I have come to realise, with some surprise, that, if we assume to know what is success in life, we thereby assume to know what life is, what we are, how we succeed or fail, and many more things, not so simple and axiomatic as we thought at first blush.

In thus seeking for some firmer ground, I have come on one or two principles, rather empirical, and not so incisive as I should like them to be; yet, perhaps, they are broad enough; they will serve till some one sees a little further into the matter.

To begin with: it seems to me that the end proposed for education, namely, success in life, is a true one. Now, in taking up this question of a successful life, I wish I could handle it in the vigorous and incisive way that carried me away in reading some of these essays. I wish I could put forward a brilliant and satisfying definition of life, and success, and, while in the vein, add definitions of beauty and truth, and many more things, and so bring rest to the mind of man, and spread quiet and peace over many hard-fought fields.

But, unfortunately, I have no definitions; nor do I see great hope of getting them. So I must take a lower way, and try, by mere empiricism, to reach the same end, if so it may be.

Take this question of success in life, and how to gain it. Let us look at the matter as it stands. Here we are, in the midst of this natural world, and here, it seems, we are to stay, for a time at any rate. And I hasten to confess that I have no definition of the natural world, and, indeed, have long given up hope of finding one. But I mean the world of day; of sun and sky; of the green earth, and the trees that grow on it, and the creatures that move about on the face of it, and, among them, ourselves,—we who would settle this question of culture; and many others who have not even heard whether there be any culture. That is not a definition; but it will serve.

Now we find ourselves in the midst of this natural world not quite taken care of; and yet not quite neglected. We need all kinds of things, and they are there, for the most part; but we must be up and doing if we would get them. And this gadfly of necessity, so to speak, follows us for a certain number of hours every day, and even murmurs round us through the watches of the night.

So the first matter we must attend to is this: there are a number of things we need; and, for the most part, these things must be had: only we must bestir ourselves to get them. The natural world has a number of calls on us, or invitations and offers to us, if you will; and, by muscular exertion, we must obey these calls and accept these invitations. So that the first part of success in life, it seems to me, is this: through muscular effort to keep on good terms with the natural world, so that we shall move into shelter, or even build a shelter, when we are cold; plunge into the cool waves when we are hot; find such food as we may need to satisfy our hunger; and, when we have done that, find things pleasant to the taste, up to the limits of repletion; further, if we find the weather too cold, to get such coverings as may be, and to adorn these as pleasing fancy may suggest; taking pretty-coloured fragments of the natural world—stones and feathers, and flowers, and the like—to serve our ends. There are other ends than these, of warmth and coolness, of food and raiment, but these are the chief; and so long as we fulfil these, so long as we are on good terms with Nature in these regards, I think we may say that our life has been so far successful.

Only one further thing remains to be said to qualify this our first result, and that is this: instead of effecting these ends by our own muscular exertion, we may persuade other

people to bestir themselves, instead of us; we gain something thereby; but we lose something also; for who would go swimming by deputy, supposing air and water pleasantly warm?

But, for argument's sake, let us suppose that everyone of us must so bestir himself as to keep on good terms with the world—the natural world of sky and earth, and all that is between them. To do this, to keep on good terms with Nature, is success in life; to fail,—is failure.

If this be so, then education is everything that helps us, that supplements our muscular efforts, or makes them more effective, or teaches us to get more out of Nature, or better quality: in general, all that helps the natural man to keep on good terms with Nature. So far, I think, we will all go; and, going so far, it would seem easy enough to say what things are good in education, and what are not. For everything which helps us to keep on good terms with Nature is good; and other things are not.

It would seem, at the first blush, that I have come to the conclusion of some of the writers I have been reading; that the only thing which it is practical to learn is natural science,—the teaching, that is, concerning the natural world; and that children should be set to study this, and to leave all other things unstudied. But, if you think a moment, you will find that the conclusion is indeed thus,—and yet not quite. A wise education would rather be to teach us how to exert ourselves to keep on good terms with the natural world, and to direct us how to make these terms better; how to make our muscular exertions of most avail; how to get as much out of the natural world as we can; or, briefly, to put us into a true relation with the natural world, through muscular exertion, through our natural powers.

And, lest I may seem to have given up the citadel too hurriedly to the teachers of science, I must remind myself of one or two things which are sometimes left out of sight. And I must own to a misgiving whether the teaching of science, as it is called, and as it is understood, really does very much to put us on good terms with the natural world; and to keep us there. I have so often taken up this or another science, with good hopes, and seen the glamour fade so many times, that I must record my disappointments as a warning to others. To keep on good terms with the natural world, we must be healthy animals first, and adroit animals only afterwards; and it seems to me that the "scientific education" aims at making us adroit animals first, and healthy animals only afterwards. Does the man of science, as he takes his well-earned walks abroad, impress you as being on as good terms with the natural world as the small boys swimming in the pond,—

even if they do get drowned now and then, and so find a new relation to things around them. In general, may we not suspect that there is a natural way, and a sophisticated way, of keeping on good terms with the world; and that the first is known to the small boys in the pond; the latter only to the "professor" who observes them? Is natural science really of so much use, either to make us healthy animals or adroit? I have come to doubt it. So that, if I am accused of surrendering the citadel to the armies of scientific educators, I am constrained to say I have done no such thing. I would far sooner leave the pond to educate the small boys than give them to the professors.

And, as I have ventured so far, I feel in the mood to go a little further,—just like these small boys swimming; if I get into deep water, I shall rely on them to pull me out again. Briefly, I would take my courage in both hands, and question the whole claims of the scientific educator, and his assumption of making us more snug and homelike in this best of possible worlds. And I would not, without a struggle, consent to our babies being given up to the men of physiology on the mere claim of these to put them in touch with the actualities of life; to save them from Nature's snares and pitfalls, to guard their tender feet among bad drains, and food unwholesome, and clothing not fit to wear, and much more of like practical force.

This idea, that science is so "practical," is just one of those things which Tolstoi's words have given me an uneasy feeling about; and I feel that I must question it further. Our modern life is hedged in with comforts and amenities, it is true; and, though we have grown somewhat tender and hectic in consequence, yet much of this is altogether well.

But, I think, the men of laboratories have got credit for far too much of this. How many of the arts of life really come out of the test-tube and crucible? How many out of the shrewd heads of upholsterers and followers of humble arts and crafts; keen-eyed workmen, and clever boys? I take that tale as typical, of the boy who wanted to play pitch-and-toss, and so invented the self-acting valve of the steam-engine. He makes the invention; but the professor writes the annals. And so we find much praise of professors therein. "When I write my diary," said Wellington, "many statues will come down." And I have long suspected that if the workmen, the upholsterers, the small boys, did their part in writing the annals, the "scientific education" would lose something of its glossy pride. Have these assured persons really told us anything about life, about ourselves, about the natural world? Have they shown us how to face our sorrows? But we were

speaking of natural life, and of our being on good terms with the natural world.

Let us come back, then, to this mere question of amenity—of sanitation, if you will. Even here, much is believed and taken for granted that seems to me most questionable. Once we have sanitary engineers enough to keep the waterworks of our houses in order, once we have doctors enough,—and I will not raise the question of how many that may be,—where is the need of teaching the babes more of these things? Shall we all turn plumbers and gasfitters, domestic carpenters, amateur electricians? Shall we multiply indefinitely the armies of those who know how to cure a cold?

Not so long ago we were all aflame with the passion to save our souls. We learned all things that made for that end; and all the things that hindered it; and all that had been said on both sides by the advocates of the angels, and others. We wrought out for ourselves tedious theologies, questions of casuistry that were, beyond question, questionable; and we did these things with holy zeal and entire sincerity; with wrinkled brow and trembling breath. We burned our candles by midnight, and wrestled in the solitude to put the hosts of darkness to flight. And what was the end of it all? What the sincere fruit of so much sincerity? Was it not the knowledge that the best thing we can do for our souls is often to leave them alone, to let them save themselves? To throw our doors open to the everlasting youth of the sunshine, and, not too carefully instructing our hearts how they shall love and hate, to trust more and more to that primeval spirit within us, which comes gleaming up in our hearts, with its old omniscience, its passion, its sorrows, and its joys.

Nor will it be far otherwise with this passion of ours for saving our bodies through "scientific education." This new fanaticism, which now besets us with the same heavy-browed burning of midnight lamps. We shall come to let our bodies save themselves as our souls have to. We shall trust more to Nature's old wisdom, gathered now through so many grey eons and stored up in us, even in every atom of our bodies; and having a far more certain hold on the natural world than the best of our professors.

Take a trite simile of the way we try to capture Nature. One of those "modern" bathing-places where piers, and buoys, and ropes, and costumes trifle with the wildness of the waves. And take, again, such natural joy as one may find on a deserted coast, with no company but the seals and sea-gulls; no costume but the white sea-mist and the slanting sunbeams across the gilded floor of the sea; the brown rocks, with their seaweed tresses. Is there not something here that will not

be captured and tamed? Such a trickling of bubbles along one's ribs as even paleolithic man might envy.

And I think all Nature may be taken in this direct way, without any siege-train of sanitary appliances; and in that path to be explored in days to come we shall first truly learn how much it means to be on good terms with the natural world; to have a true relation to Nature. That will be the victory of the future; not some cheap trick of flying machine, or mineral food for chickens. Then shall we wear the world as a garment, the fair earth and the majestic dome of heaven.

As we are finding out in the saving of our souls that they are well enough able to save themselves if we let them alone; that there is, in them,—in us,—a certain divine and unconquerable will, a fiery and serene magnificence, that can go forth of itself and settle matters with the Highest,—so we shall find that there is, in our natural selves, a far greater energy than we had imagined, a strange and magical power to lay hold directly on this lovely world, to come into direct relations with Nature, instead of talking about it; so shall we enter into natural life, and find that all our sciences, like our theologies, but kept us lingering on the threshold. We shall launch our boat upon the waves.

We are to possess Nature directly, as it were, by sheer muscular effort, as the swimmer does, or the Alpine mountaineer, who finds a gladness and mystery among the mountains that strings of tourists do not guess at. You can see the light of that secret on his face; but to win the light you must do as he did; no carving of names on alpenstocks will serve to initiate you.

But, we are told, science teaches us truth and brings enlightenment. Perhaps,—but we were speaking of the natural man, and his relation with the natural world; chiefly through muscular effort, or a refinement of this; an animal; a healthy animal first, and an adroit animal afterwards. What have these to do with ideal truth? And where, in the natural world—the world of science—will you find any whisper of ideal truth. How did our professors come to imagine there is such a thing? For ourselves, with our inability to frame definitions, we must content ourselves with the lower ground, and speak of keeping on good terms with the natural world, of our bodily well-being, of warmth, and swimming, and the like, which we are sure we understand; but about ideal truth, why, that is quite another thing.

To be severely practical, then, I think that the first wise aim of success in life is to establish a true relation with Nature, to get on good terms with the natural world; to the end of satisfying our wants and gratifying our tastes, so far

as the natural world can do this; and that, in carrying this out, we have far less need of the scientist than we imagine; what we want is the healthy animal's first-hand relation with Nature, and not all those theories about our relations with Nature.

Well, education should be aimed thus. And, having reached this end, are we to esteem that all has been gained? Supposing that I have made such terms with Nature that I am warmed and fed, or cooled and solaced, as my want may be? Supposing further, that I have a sound reason to hope that this shall continue until I come to have that new relation with Nature discovered by the small boy who swims not wisely; may I then count that I have "arrived;" that I have gained success in life; that I have no more need of education?

At first it would seem so. But, looking the matter over, I find I have omitted something,—namely, the other people. I am admonished by a deep instinct that I am not sole inhabitant of the natural world. And here let me borrow once more from Tolstoi, not as taking his doctrine, but as finding pleasure in his thought. "What is Art?" he asks, in the essay I have already quoted; and, after telling much that Art is not, he thus makes answer: "Art is this; when, after having experienced an emotion, I first call it up within myself anew, and then by sounds, signs, or symbols transfer to another the sense of my emotion, so that he also feels it, that is art." And, rightly considered, though Tolstoi does not say so, this would make us all artists; for much of our life, even our common speech, is nothing but this, recalling our emotions and making others share them.

But what interests me in this definition of Tolstoi's is something Tolstoi himself seems to have overlooked; namely, the fact that our trying to transfer any emotion to anybody testifies to our faith that we shall find in that other a heart to understand us akin to our own. Here is a weighty enough matter, and yet, with all its pretence, can science touch it? I think the beggar by the wayside, with his dragged and not too faithful mate, knows secrets of life and humanity, something of the magic that lurks in a smile or a tear, nay, even the magic that passion has in it, or the abandonment of a roadside debauch,—secrets of our strange human souls, that the laboratories will never guess at; that retort and crucible may seek for in vain. For the beggar and his mate believe in each other's reality, each other's humanity, so far as they understand these things; each other's possession of a human heart. Hence I think that even publicans and sinners have a holiness of reality and natural will which many a saint has never dreamed of.

We may look deeper into this matter. The question is, to

understand that the heart which we feel within ourselves—the old casket of joys and sorrows—has an answering heart in our neighbour; in all men. We testify to our belief, rather our certain knowledge of this, in our loves, but not less in our hates; in our words of gentleness, but also in anger, and menace, and fear. For that sense of the common heart is a light that lights every man who comes into the world. And herein is the teacher justified; it is as often in publican and sinner, as in preacher and saint; more sincere in the former, because more unconscious. It is a question of believing in each other's reality.

But, it may be said, science has not proved that; very good, that is one of science's limitations. Let science go back to up-holstering and sanitation, and leave the matter to men and women who do understand these things, and act on them in every act of their lives. It is, as we have said, a question of the human heart; of a true relation between my heart and my neighbour's, even if only that we should hate each other well. What, then, of the relation of this matter to education? Briefly, it is this: everything which will make our relation to our neighbour more direct and simple; everything which will show us some of the infinite secret of the human heart, it is our duty to learn; and that is a part of good education.

But I should prefer to mark a difference here, and to introduce a new word; let us say that, as the establishing of a sound relation with the natural world is the aim of education, so the establishing of a true relation between our hearts and the hearts of other men and women is culture. And though this may seem somewhat strange at first, yet I think we shall come to see that all true culture is nothing but this.

And here we come to one of those points which were taken for granted by so many of the writers spoken of. It is taken for granted that we know why we study, or do not study, languages; what is a living language, and what a dead one; and what we have to gain by studying the one or the other. But by their judgments I doubt if all these writers are quite so sure of all these things.

Why do we study languages? Or, more generally, why do we read books? Going back to our second milestone, we can see why at once. We read books, because they help us to understand the heart of man and woman; because they convey to us, and make us feel, the emotions that have been felt by others, of whatever time and place; and because they thereby make us sharers of these other hearts, and thereby satisfy an imperious necessity of our own,—the necessity of realising our common humanity. And we are not so partial to the good emotions as the preachers would have us. We find the

sense of our common humanity just as well satisfied by other peoples' sins, as by their virtues; by their passions and sorrows, as by their joys; by their failure and death, as much as by their happiness. Thus we may esteem that life well lived, which leads not to the marble monument, but to the gibbet or the cross; to the nameless grave of the battle-field, or burial in the unharvested sea. So are our souls superior to upholstery.

So there is, first, a true relation to establish between us and the natural world; to be established first by naturalism, and the aboriginal out-of-doors; and then only supplemented by education. We are to be healthy animals before we are adroit animals. We are to delight in mother Nature before we try to exploit her.

Then there is this second imperious necessity, that we are to establish and realise a true relation between our hearts and the hearts of others. And we must do this directly: must begin, that is, with those who come into our own lives; and then, indirectly, to our further joy and gladness; we are to establish a true relation with all mankind. And all that serves to fulfil these needs is culture.

Now we shall early make one discovery; and it is this. Even a plain man—or perhaps most of all, a plain man—knows that there is, within his heart, some kind of relation or possibility of relation, with everyone whom he may come across. And the further scope he gives to this sense, the larger will be the regions he will find within his own heart,—great unexplored tracts of wonderful delight and fruitfulness. What the limit of the human heart is, no man knows. I do not think it has any limit. To realise the wonderful life of the human heart; to realise the wonderful wealth of human life—that is the end of culture. And once again we must say that in this, culture is to supplement direct experience and delight; and never to take their place. Life first; culture afterwards.

So the study of books is for this: to make us understand the human heart, which science knows so little of, and can know little of—and to understand human life. We read books that we may know "the best that has been thought and said in the world." And we learn languages that we may read books.

And here a word about translations. And I speak as one who has often essayed to make translations from tongues called dead, as well as from those esteemed as living. And the result of my experience is this: that there is no such thing as a translation, nor ever can be. It is, as Cervantes said, the tapestry, but the tapestry seen from the back; a translation is a betrayal, say the Italians, in an untranslatable proverb. A

translation is, not your sweetheart, but your sweetheart's sister ; perchance her younger brother, but never her matchless self. Can you transfer the blue of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Thames ? Well, neither can you translate Tartarin into English. Can you bring even the scent of an Eastern bazar to Whitechapel ? Neither can you translate the Koran. Can you elsewhere throughout the wide world quite parallel the beauty of the Parthenon, as rosy-fingered Dawn touches it from over the Ægean ? Do not your scarlet anemones of Hellas change into English primroses when Shakespeare writes of Theseus ? Primroses are very pretty flowers, but—they are not anemones. As no one can bodily carry about a climate or a landscape, so no one can make a translation. And it is vain to say, in answer, that we cannot all read all languages. Well, we cannot all see the ends of the earth ; but is that a reason why none of us should ? There is great and immense good in travel ; there are mole-eyed travellers, and there are open-sighted ones. So with those who study foreign tongues. Eyes have some travellers, yet they see not. Ears have some linguists, yet they hear not ; neither understand with their hearts. But, in the one case, as in the other, if you want to see Hellas,—even through curiosity to know what other men found there,—you must go to Hellas. So, if you wish to know what the wisest and loveliest hearts of Hellas thought and felt ; how they loved and hated ; how they sorrowed and joyed ; you must go to Plato and Homer and the poets of Hellas, even those who wrote their poetry in prose. You cannot bring Hellas here ; neither can you translate Homer and Plato.

But do translations serve for nothing ? Well, are guide-books any use, or travels, or descriptions, when you read them at home ? Certainly, and of great comfort and solace, when one knows something of the palmer-worm and the canker-worm and the caterpillar, to say nothing of the great leviathan and the great beasts that roam abroad, seeking whom they may devour. It is all well, so long as you remember that your guide-book is not the Acropolis, and that your translation is not Plato.

If you want to talk with Plato, to find what that luminous and winsome and majestic soul may have to say to you, then there is nothing for it but to read Plato, and you must learn Greek to do it. If you will not, you must be content to learn what Plato said to Benjamin Jowett, or, haply, to Mr. Bohn's translator, but not to you. And so it is with all translations. They are the same, only different. It is, as Cervantes said, the reverse of the tapestry, or, as I said, your sweetheart's sister ; or, with many pert translators of the mighty dead, it is your sweetheart's younger brother ; and you know how far he is likely to further your suit.

Keep this in mind, that we read books to get at the hearts of the men that wrote them, or their words, there recorded by others. Also this, that the thoughts of the great hearts of a thousand generations are laid open to us in this way, and in no other way, and you will be in a better position to understand books, and why we study them. It is not only an imperious necessity of our hearts, that they shall commune with all hearts of man ; it is also our deepest joy. What, then, of the proposal to set aside the great hearts of men, to make room for—sanitation ?

Now, looked at in this light, we see how odd it is to speak of a "dead" language ; why not a dead statue, or a dead picture ? Is beauty dead, or wisdom, or truth, or the living joy we win from them ? If the tongue of Hellas is dead, what of the Acropolis ? or the Zeus of Phidias ? or some slim vase, of more black and red loveliness ?

If you wish for a definition, here is one ; for, in a plain matter like this, I may venture a definition : A "dead" language is one which no longer speaks to any living heart ; yet even such may come to life again, and a dozen such re-births are in our own memories.

No one can learn all tongues ; but then no one has yet found the limit of this capacity. Let him first understand why he learns any, and then choose wisely which he shall learn ; just as a good traveller does not try to see all lands, knowing this to be impossible, but does not therefore decide to stay at home.

Or you may speak of living language, as that speech which is actually flying between man and man, in audible sound, in such musical form as may be, while all written speech is so far dead. But, like all deaths, there is something of serious mirth in it ; the written work, like the re-born soul, may come alive again, nay, lives all the while, though not for your ear, until it is once more spoken. We are bound to all human hearts ; we live to find a true relation to the hearts of men and women ; we read to talk with the mightiest heroes and lovers of our race. And we must talk to themselves, unless we would be put off with the report of another and lesser man.

With this in view, we may find that the desire to replace dead languages by science is somewhat foolish. It is to replace the man and woman by the adroit animal, who talks much of health, but does no more than talk ; who talks of pleasure, but knows little of it, less than the boys bathing in the pond ; less of life than the beggar by the wayside.

Let the adroit animal have his place. I should prefer to see him on the other side of the bars ; for I find in him something forbidding, and not akin to my humanity. He is some belated

anthropoid ; some recrudescence of neolithic man. And, indeed, we may liken the new realism, that would set old humanity aside, to the man of polished hatchets, who came after him of the paleolithic age. The man of the older time, who wore his hatchet rough, was mild and meditative. He felt the beauty of things, and would spend a whole morning watching the reflection of a reindeer's soft nose in a mountain tarn, or the branching of his antlers, or the curve of a mammoth's tusk. And when the sword-toothed tiger fell on him, he may have found some solace in watching the gleam of his own red blood on the white fangs, as he went down, rejoicing, to the shades.

But with the neolith it was far otherwise. He polished his tomahawk for new conquests over nature ; he went forth to hack out the heart of things with a wedge of flint ; and flaunted before old paleolith his own superior sense of actuality. The one good thing I know of this assured and objectionable person is his fondness for oysters and game ; and curiously enough these are the very things his biographers have reproached him with as a sign of savagery, a visible proof that he was a raw-eater and a barbarian. That is the kind of sense of human life which marks the scientific mind.

Let me add something of the neolith, which has slipped from their scant biographies ; something prophetic of the search of science after truth. It was long after the sword-toothed tiger had given a grave to the man of rugged hatchets that neolith went out from his cave, one morning in the springtime. It was the season when the showers were drifting in pearly freshness across the sunshine, and the buds were opening their greenness on what we were one day to call April. For in those days there were no months nor numbered days, but only the endless ribbon of the year, with one half white, the other green and gold. He of the polished axe, thus moving over soft and shining grass, beheld a rainbow, the flaming end of it rising archlike from a rock. The rock was old and rugged as the world ; silver-gray lichens wrapped its seared sides. The rainbow rested there and made it beautiful. And he sped thither with his flint hatchet to hack out the beautiful thing, and make it all his own. And he tore the bearded lichens away, and looked to possess his treasure, to win an armament brighter than woad or ochre,—a bravery won from the air to dazzle his mistress with. But the rainbow slipped away, and gleamed now on a wet rock face across the lake, fringing the hill with a sheen of iris feathers ; and neolith sat him on the stone and wept. And, now and then, he looked again to watch the twinkling rainbow sparkle on the hilltop.

That is a truer story than many they tell of you (of the long-

vanished neolith); and but for your tears, you were an unwitting type of the new realism, which is already waxing somewhat old and stale. Our modern neolithics are still chipping at the granite boulder in search of Truth; too proud of their new stone hatchets to see that the mystery has long ago slipped out of their fingers; thinking the rainbow is there on the rock, impaled, and at their mercy. They turn their backs on grace and beauty, and tell us they are in search of truth. But what is Truth? By that wise question, Pilate won an immortality denied to many answerers of questions. We are still questioners, and shall be ever. The men who seek truth today will soon look up to see their rainbow of verity soar on soft wings across the waves, to rest on some distant peak where they can never come.

But if science cannot give us truth, it can at least give us entertainment, information, slides for magic-lanterns, hardly more than that. Once again, you cannot trap this fair natural world. There is more than myth in the saying: Our All-mother is a witch.

What view that the telescope gives, with all its strange peeps into remoteness, its peering into infinitudes, can equal the mystery of a starry night, when the lit-trains of heaven gleam over the frost-crystals, or the star-clusters rise glowing over southern palms? These things, like all that is best in nature, you can see for the smallest of fees; like that eternal pageantry of the coloured clouds, that no dweller in meanest slum need be quite shut out from.

Or what comparison is there between ringed Saturn and belted Jupiter, as even the best optic glass reveals them, and our own familiar sun, whose beams the veriest knave may bask in, and thereby come into secrets of stellar chemistry that are unsuspected at Pulkova and Greenwich,—at least, during working-hours.

But there is a point, I think the scientist may have seized on as a shred of hope,—those slums we spoke of; here, at least, is a case for sanitation?

I think it is an old story in a new face. This is not a case for the doctor; this is matter for the priest. How comes it that these good people are living there? We spoke of a true relation with the natural world. Does that include the right to keep some one else out of it? we spoke of the adroit animal, who manages to substitute the exertion of some one else's muscle for the tension of his own; may not this have some bearing on the slums?

But I will resist the temptation to solve the matter by rhetoric. The whole matter brings us back to where we started; what is true success in life? Is it really, as we all seem to

think, a question of furniture, and not so much for our own pleasure, as for the envy of others? When we shall grasp the idea that a man should inhabit the universe, that his soul should dwell in the infinite and eternal; then I think the distinction of inhabiting this or another street-corner will fall to a truer estimate. Then the rush to be well-upholstered will abate its bitterness, and there will be more room, and a bigger share, for those who run not so swiftly, yet nevertheless have big human hearts, and feel joy and sorrow in their own keen way. Is not the heart more than raiment?

So we should educate ourselves in naturalism, meeting the natural world directly, as by muscular effort, getting into snug and intimate relation with earth and sky. And all that helps us to do this is good for education. But, besides being healthy animals, we are human beings, each one of us lord of a heart, the boundless powers of which we hardly guess at yet. And that heart of ours, with its endless power of joy and sorrow, its hope and fear, its eyes that look backwards and forwards, is under a strong necessity for communion with all hearts of men and women; has, moreover, a strong kinship with all that have lived, with all humanity, and can draw infinite solace from these till time's cup is full.

We are to supplement muscular effort by education and humanity by culture. But in each case the intimate relation of the will first with Nature, and then with man, is the main thing, and culture and education come later. When our wills and actions are set true to the natural world, and to man, is all done that was to do? Say rather that we have only begun. And in what follows there is matter not for the priest, but for the staunchest heart of man. For behind and through this shining world, with all its brave colours, and the glad face and the joy of it, there is a great and secret power which is linked to our souls, as the solid earth is linked to our muscles, and we are to find out that power, and gain a true relation therewith, just as we did with Nature; just as we did with man. It is a power of solemnity, and yet of infinite mirth and gladness; of majestic awe, and yet of that rich fancy that embroidered the ferns and lit the twinkling stars. It is more akin to the will in us than to anything else of our knowledge; but we must set forth on the quest ourselves; and, finding that, a man shall become immortal.

Thus the question of culture, seemingly so simple and direct, has led us far, disclosing strange secrets and turnings not quite expected. And that is not to be wondered at; for it is but two removes from the great ultimate question: If you ask, What shall we learn? you will soon be asking, What is success in life? and then, What is Life itself?

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ART VIII.—TWO ANGLO-INDIAN EMPIRE BUILDERS.

SIMILARITY in names is an incident of too ordinary occurrence to invite notice ; but, when the coincidence extends further and reveals individuals, in flesh and blood, who bore the same patronymic, were contemporaneous, claimed the same nationality, although born in different parts of the kingdom, and were endowed with intellectual gifts of a very high order, devoted to the service of their country, mere idle curiosity gives place to other feelings and interest in their career is kindled in the breast of every compatriot.

With some notable exceptions, the great and middle class families of England have paid scant attention to the care of invaluable documents in their possession, as is instanced by the revelations made during the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners. Private letters and correspondence which contained rich mines of information for the historian, have, by the ravages of time, or the inroads of damp and vermin, been destroyed without an attempt at preservation. What a flood of light would illumine the public and private lives of our ancestors if the priceless historic treasures locked up in the family archives of the United Kingdom, so rich in journals and diaries of the empire-builders in the early days of British rule in India, were unfolded for the benefit of their descendants. True, some remnants have trickled down to us, few and far between, but it is very desirable that we should have more of them and in a connected form ; in fact, we cannot have too much of their experiences, inner thoughts and feelings, as chronicled in their writings, especially when they wrote off their guard and their opinions and actions were intended, not for the scrutiny and criticism of posterity, but for the amusement and instruction of those to whom they were directly addressed.

Public despatches and Minutes of Governors and leaders of armies are, for obvious reasons, not safe guides in such matters. They were prepared with a specific object in view, illustrating the political and military history of the times, and, so far as that went, they answered the purpose admirably well. But for a faithful record of the events that go to make up the every-day history of the rulers and the ruled in India, such as is in demand now-a-days, we must turn to the writings of eye-witnesses and others who took prominent personal part in the drama that was enacted. Such, in fact, are the authentic records of two Britons, named Twining, who figured conspicuously during the closing years of the last and the beginning of the present century—one a Civil Servant on the Bengal establishment of the Honourable

East India Company, and the other a distinguished member of the medical profession, who attained to eminence in their respective spheres of activity. Both by reason of seniority in years and also in order of precedence of the services to which they respectively belonged, Mr. T. Twining claims prior notice.

He was a Londoner, being the son of a member of the famous and long-established mercantile firm of the same name in the Strand, and was born about the year 1775. Of his boyhood very little is known, for in the posthumous papers preserved by his son, Thomas Twining, of Twickenham, and edited by the Rev. H. C. Twining, we obtain the merest glimpse of his school days, which seem to have been passed at Rugby, very much, we believe, in the same way as those of his compeers were. There is an absence of any notable reminiscence to interest the general reader ; but he makes an apology, as if it were needed, for having completed his sixteenth year before his departure for India, and this delay is ascribed to the delicacy of his constitution ! The voyage was successfully accomplished, and he reached the Madras roads without any adventure worth notice, subsequently coming on to Calcutta, in August 1792. He narrates all the little minutiae that occurred on the voyage out. During his short stay in the capital of the Southern Presidency he entered with youthful zest into all the pleasures of the new society and revelled in its "hail-fellow-well-met" type of hospitality.

The war with Tippoo Sahib had just come to a victorious termination, and, among the 'lions' of the place, he was introduced to the sons of that warlike chief, who were then detained as hostages by the English in order to ensure the speedy carrying out of the terms of the treaty of peace. Mr. Twining then left for Calcutta ; but at the entrance to the Hooghly he became impatient of the delay imposed while waiting for a pilot to conduct the vessel to a safe anchorage, and came up to town in a native boat impelled by the inevitable oars of old-fashioned India. The following description of the scenery on the river from Garden Reach upwards is well worth reproducing.

Our traveller says :—"We set off with the head of the flood and the next morning passed through Garden Reach, a long reach running east and west a few miles below Calcutta. Handsome villas lined the left, or southern, bank, and on the opposite shore was the residence of the Superintendent of the Company's Botanical Garden. It was a large upper-roomed house, not many yards from the river, along the edge of which the garden itself extended. The situation of the elegant garden-houses, as the villas on the left bank were called, surrounded by verdant grounds laid out in the English style, with the Ganges flowing before them covered with boats and ship-

ping, struck me, as it does everybody who sees it for the first time, as singularly delightful. These charming residences announced our approach to the modern capital of the East, and bespoke the wealth and luxury of its inhabitants. Turning suddenly to the north at the end of this reach; the "City of Palaces," with its lofty, detached, flat-roofed mansions and the masts of its innumerable shipping, appeared before us on the left bank of the Ganges; and on the same side, in the foreground of this beautiful perspective, were the extensive ramparts of Fort William. Passing this elegant fortress, we had on our right the even, verdant plain, properly the esplanade of the fort, which separates it from the city. A range of magnificent buildings, including the Governor's Palace, the Council House, the Supreme Court-house, the Accountant General's Office, etc., extended eastward from the river, and then, turning at a right angle to the south, formed, on two sides, the limit both of the city and plain. Nearly all these buildings were occupied by the Civil and Military Officers of Government, either as their public offices or private residences. They were all white, their roofs invariably flat, surrounded by light colonnades, and their fronts relieved by lofty columns supporting deep verandas. They were all separated from each other, each having its own small-enclosure in which, at a little distance from the house, were the kitchens, cellars, store-rooms, etc., and a large folding gate and porter's lodge at the entrance."

On reaching the landing stage, Mr. Twining, accompanied by a native, directed his steps towards Writers' Buildings, so named as the place of residence of the 'clerks,' or young cadets, who were nominated to the Civil Service of the Honourable East India Company and who were so called. At a few yards distance from his destination he saw an obelisk erected in commemoration of the fearful catastrophe which occurred on the memorable night of the 20th of June, 1756, when 123 Europeans were sacrificed to the tyrannic violence of Suraj-ud-Dowla, Subah of Bengal, the incident known as the tragedy of the Black Hole.

Mr. Twining's first appointment in Bengal was as Deputy to Mr. Edward Fletcher, the chief of the East India Company's factory at Santipur in the Nadia District, which commanded at the time a large sale of country-made cloths, an industry now almost ruined by competition with the products of Manchester. But this, apparently, was unsuited to his tastes and an opportunity soon offered itself of temporarily transferring his services to more congenial employment.

In 1794 a storm was brewing in the N.-W. Provinces. The Rohillas, who were a growing power and beginning to make themselves felt in an unpleasant manner by the adjoining

States, were a thorn in the side of the prosperous Kingdom of Oudh. The Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Robert Abercromby, was proceeding up-country, and our young civilian was ordered to join him on his way to that principality.

In the early days of British rule, travelling was carried on in boats only, whether the distance to be covered was 20 or 2,000 miles, and Mr. Twining overtook the fleet, on its way up the Ganges, somewhere on this side of Patna. He was not only an adept in descriptive writing, but a shrewd observer and delineator of human character, as his word-pictures of Englishmen in authority at the different stations he passed through, amply testify. The Nawab advanced to greet his friend, and an interview took place at Dalman, close to Allahabad. It was arranged that a portion of the Company's troops should be sent to the Nawab for the purpose of fighting the Rohillas. This was done and the latter sustained a crushing defeat. Mr. Twining, unfortunately, was not present at the engagement, but went off to Agra and Delhi instead, charged with the delivery of a letter from the Commander-in-Chief to the Great Moghul. The country around was in a disturbed state, and, being compelled to leave his military escort behind, he replaced them by his own boatmen and others as a private guard.

Alone and unattended by an English companion, he began his journey overland to the first named town. Dacoity was reigning supreme throughout the land, and his graphic description of rampant lawlessness is very interesting. The absence of any countryman of his was made up in part by the presence of an Italian Jesuit Padre named Juvenal, who had joined him on the perilous journey when it was considered unsafe to travel between Fatehgur and Agra, although accompanied by an escort of more than fifty men. The priest officiated as minister of a miniature Roman Catholic Church at the latter station, which had been in existence for upwards of two hundred years, that is, since the time of Akbar the Great.

Mr. Twining naturally expresses surprise at the existence of a Christian place of worship in the dominions of a Mahomedan ruler; he was, probably, not aware of the indulgent spirit which actuated Akbar and his immediate successors in their dealings with those outside the pale of Mohamedanism, for they were as tolerant of other creeds as they were firmly attached to their own. But the converts to the faith of the Nazarene were an insignificant body, for, according to the Padre's own estimate, they "had never exceeded twenty, and were now only twelve, consisting of his domestic servants and a few Hindus who had lost their caste."

At Agra, our traveller pitched his camp amidst lovely surroundings in the garden of the Taj. He next went on to

Delhi, where he was honoured with a personal interview with the Great Moghul and succeeded in concluding his Mission satisfactorily. The description he gave of the campaign in Rohilkund greatly pleased the old man. The East India Company was slowly but surely advancing to the goal of its ambition, and before another decade had passed the Emperor was drifting down to the unenviable position of a dependent of a Company of merchants. After spending some time among the antiquities with which Delhi abounds, Mr. Twining began his return journey to British territories, in the beginning of December of the same year, escorted by a guard supplied by the retainers of the Emperor. Notwithstanding the earnest protestations and warnings of those who knew better, he insisted on taking a different route from that by which he had come up-country. The reason for this determination was that he had set his heart on seeing General De Boigne, who had entered the service of the Maharaja Scindia and had recently reorganised the native army of that potentate on European models. He lived at Koil, the capital of the district made over for the maintenance of the troops under him; and there Mr. Twining repaired to see the lion in his own den.

He gives a glowing account of the chief and his surroundings, not the least instructive part of which is a description of his early life and career in India. The stuff of which he was made is evidenced by the sequel. He had under him 25,000 men and 120 guns, and is spoken of as being "one of the most famous and powerful men in India." He complained that his chief difficulty lay with the European officers, who could brook no restraint, and were unamenable to discipline and control, except under his direct supervision. With his departure, the glory of Scindia's army disappeared. And to this cause may be attributed the overthrow of the Gwalior troops before Lord Lake; for neither had De Boigne's successor the genius to command nor his subordinates the virtue to obey.

From Koil Mr. Twining retraced his steps to Fattehgur; but he was so enamoured of the gorgeous East, and his fancy had been so stimulated by picturesque descriptions of the 'Garden of India', as Oudh was felicitously known, that, before returning to his prosaic duties in Bengal, he made a tour of that Province and its capital, Lucknow. Whether it was the fatigues of the journey or constant exposure to the varying climates he had passed through on his travels, his health had been a good deal undermined by the time he resumed work in the factory at Santipore, and he was obliged to take leave in 1795.

Instead of going home direct, he went first to the United States of America, where he met Washington, its first President, Priestley, and a host of other eminent men, who were greatly interested in

Mr. Twining's description of India. Here, too, he came across Mr. Law, brother of the first Lord Ellenborough, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, and, under Lord Cornwallis, "the real father of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal", of 1793. It was this Mr. Law who had married a daughter of Mrs. Washington by a former husband. After an absence of about three years Mr. Twining returned to this country in 1798, and during the short period he remained here he attained to high official positions. Lord Wellesley reigned as Governor-General in those days, and Mr. Twining who paid a visit to His Excellency in camp, was strongly impressed by his character and manly bearing, as what young man could fail to be.

His lordship, on the other hand, formed so high an estimate of the young Civilian's abilities, that, at the close of the interview, he expressed to Mr. Twining his regret at the latter leaving India, and added that, if he remained his lordship would give him any appointment he wished to have, with one exception, and that was the Judgeship of Behar.

But it was not to be ; had Mr. Twining elected to continue in office in spite of the warning of failing health, he might have courted a disaster. Here is an instance, among a host of others, of an English lad, at an age at which, under ordinary circumstances, he should have been busy with his school books, going out to a strange land beyond seas, thousands of miles away, without guide or mentor at his elbow ; acting the part of a diplomat and an ambassador representing the Majesty of England at the court of the most powerful potentate in India ; relying on his own independent judgment and character and acquitting himself with credit all round.

DR. WILLIAM TWINING.

The subject of this notice was born in 1780, the son of a clergyman in Wales ; but the name of the town in which he first saw the light is not known with any degree of certainty. At the age of 18, he entered Guy's Hospital as an ordinary student of medicine.

Among the teaching staff of the institution were Messrs. Foster and Lucas, while Sir Astley Cooper, one of the celebrated surgeons of the day, and Mr. Clive were lecturers. Even at this early stage of his scholastic career, Mr. W. Twining displayed that assiduity and application to work which distinguished him ever after. So enamoured was he of the study of anatomy that, during the summer recesses of the London Medical School, instead of retiring into the country on a pleasure trip, or setting out on European travel, he diligently devoted himself to that branch of his profession and joined the class of that eminent anatomist, Mr. Joshua Brookes, which was kept open during vacation time. His restless activity and industry had its reward, for he was first taken on as an assistant in the professor's private dissections and subsequently 'as his own 'demonstrator'—a position of great honour for so youthful a student. He remained two years with his employer, but shortly after, the Peninsular War breaking out, the allurements of field service, where so much was to be learnt by a young medical man, proved too irresistible an attraction for him.

With such brilliant prospects in the near future, he joined the Medical Department of the army in 1810, and was appointed Hospital Assistant to the English forces in Portugal commanded by the Duke of Wellington. He served throughout the campaign, taking part in most of the memorable engagements in which the allied troops gloriously upheld British prestige. Within the next four years he rose to the rank of Staff Assistant Surgeon and was attached to the Staff of General Lord Hill, in which capacity he entered Paris during its first occupation by the allied army. The next year he was present at the Battle of Waterloo. After the restoration of peace he still continued in Lord Hill's family till his marriage, in the year 1817.

Tired of the daily routine of a comparatively idle life which garrison duty entails, he volunteered for foreign service, and was ordered to the West Indies ; but it was tame work compared with what he had passed through, and he declined, though expressing his readiness to proceed to the East if so ordered. The indecision of the Home Government, however, did not interfere with his prospects ; his star was in the ascendant, for immediately afterwards Sir Edward Paget, who, in the meantime, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ceylon, wrote to him to join him as personal surgeon, and Dr.

Twining sailed for that island in 1821. Two years after, when Lord Paget was transferred to India in the same capacity, he was accompanied by his personal surgeon on his first tour of inspection of the North-West Provinces.

There now came a turn of the tide in his favour ; he took it at the flood, and it led to fortune. In the days I am speaking of, every aspiring covenanted servant of Government, irrespectively of the Department to which he belonged, naturally turned his eyes towards Calcutta, the metropolis of a growing Empire, where the loaves and fishes of the services were dispensed. These were the palmy days, not of jobbery and favouritism, but of patronage for the meritorious. Whether he was a Civilian, a Military man or a doctor, an appointment here was the be-all and end-all of his existence ; it was the goal of his ambition, and competition was therefore keen. Everyone was striving hard for advancement in a land where high ability was at a premium and mediocre talents were at a discount. Dr. W. Twining, then a rising man, took in the situation at a glance and set himself to exert his energy in a direction and by means likely to ensure success. But in order to attain his end, it was necessary for him to transfer his services from His Majesty's army to the establishment of the Honourable East India Company.

In 1824, through the kind influence of the Commander-in-Chief, he succeeded in obtaining an appointment of Assistant Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment. But he still retained his commission in the King's Army, and continued to do so till 1830, when he was compelled by the Home Government to accept the alternative of relinquishing it, or being brought on the cadre of a British Regiment. He chose the former, and, having already secured a successful private practice in Calcutta, he accepted the commuted allowance of officers of his rank according to the regulation then in force and bade adieu to the British army. He continued for a short time on the staff of Sir Edward Paget and was then posted to the General Hospital as senior permanent assistant.

It was the opening of a brilliant career, for his practice immediately began to expand. Christians and natives alike of every class and condition flocked to him from all quarters. And, what was more, his deep knowledge of diseases, and tact and force of character, enabled him to decide with promptitude in difficult and complicated cases and combined to inspire his patients with confidence. His large practice entailed a heavy strain on his constitution which he bore without murmur, and it was his boast that, although his health was impaired in consequence, he did not neglect his duty whether public or private for a single day. His devotion to the cause of suffering humanity was never more conspicuously displayed than in his labours in connection with

the Medical and Physical Society, an institution which did admirable work close upon a century ago, and which had for its object the propagation and dissemination of medical knowledge. He was truly a philanthropist in every sense of the term. He contributed by every means in his power to promote its success, and, not content with taking a personal interest himself, he induced every one round and about him to work in its behalf. His popularity with the profession and the profound respect felt for his intellect was so great that, on the demise of Dr. John Adam, he was, without a dissentient voice, elected to the vacant Secretaryship. But, after a short tenure of office, he was compelled, much against his will, to vacate it owing to the heavy strain on his physical powers. During his ten years connection with the Society he contributed a large number of papers upon various subjects, about two dozen of which were published. But they were only the forerunners and groundwork of a book upon a large scale which was given to the world two years later. In 1832 was published his *opus magnum* on the diseases of Bengal. It was received with acclamation, for public opinion recognised in it the most important and learned treatise on the subject that had ever been produced.

In the following year he published, through his book-sellers in England, a smaller work devoted to that scourge of mankind, cholera. But it was the former work that earned for him a European reputation, and his fame in his profession was established throughout the civilized world.

As a mark of recognition of Dr. Twining's brilliant contributions to the cause of medicine, the Supreme Government came forward most liberally and granted Rs. 1,500 towards the cost of its printing and publication. The first edition was soon exhausted, and a second was called for. The worthy doctor at once set about preparing a new edition and a very enlarged one, for in it was embodied much original matter, with entirely fresh observations, notes and emendations which greatly enhanced its value and usefulness. The Government once more rose to the occasion and subscribed for two hundred copies of the work for distribution among the members of the Indian Medical Service.

With this his last effort at well-doing Dr. Twining's career came to an abrupt termination. His sun had set while it was yet day. On the 19th of August in the same year, when he was on his daily round of visits to his patients, his carriage came into collision with a buggy which was being driven by a European gentleman, and upset it, the occupant being thrown violently to the ground and sustaining a fracture of the thigh. Dr. Twining lost no time in running to the assistance of the wounded man, whom he helped into a palanquin with the

assistance of a passer-by. But the strain upon his lungs and heart was severe, and there already existed a disposition to weakness or disorder in the latter organ. He felt something snap in the region of the chest, followed instantly by a sensation of sickness and faintness. A blood vessel had burst. He lingered for six days and expired on the 25th of the month.

As an English writer he was plain, but clear and forcible. His style was not disfigured by attempts at producing effect ; and his logic was sound and convincing. He was buried in the South Park Street cemetery, where a monument was erected by his professional brethren in India to mark the high sense they entertained of his character and of the eminent service which he rendered in the cause of medical improvement and research in this country.

But there exists another monument in St. John's Church, which bears the following inscription :—

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

Of benefits derived from the successful application of professional ability,
And in testimony of respect and esteem for modest worth and active philanthropy,

This tablet, erected by his friends and patients, is consecrated to the memory of

WILLIAM TWINING.

C. R. C. L. T.

Obiit Augt. 25th 1835 Aged 45.

A. STEPHEN.

ART. IX.—THE NAMBUTIRIS.

THE *Nambutiris* of Malabar present a unique phenomenon. They are the Brahmins of Malabar and differ much from the Eastern Coast Brahmins in their customs, manners and religious rites.

Mr. Logan, late Collector of Malabar, gives the following description of the origin of the Nambutiris in his District Manual :—

“ The mace-bearing incarnation of Vishnu (Parasu Rama) was obliged by the Rishis to expiate the sin of having slain his mother by extirpating the Kshatriyas, the enemies of the Brahmins. This he accomplished in twenty-one expeditions. At Viswamitra's suggestion he then made over all the land within the four seas to the Rishis, ‘ with all the blood-guiltiness attached to it, by making them drink of the water of possession.’ The Brahmins, it is said, turned him out of the land he thus gave away ; but, with Subramanya's assistance, he obtained, by ‘ penance from the God of the Seas (Varuna),’ the grant of some land to dwell on. The throw of his mace (Parasu) was to determine its extent. He threw it from Kanya Kumari (Cape Comorin) to Gokarnam. The gods came to visit the land thus miraculously won, and called it Parasu Rama's land, and Siva condescended to be worshipped in Gokarnam, the metropolis of the province thus reclaimed from the sea. To people this land Parasu Rama is said to have first of all brought a poor Brahmin from the shores of the Kistna River. This man had eight sons and the eldest was made head of all the Brahmins of Kērala. Other Brahmins were next brought and located in sixty-four gramams or villages. Ships with seeds and animals next came, also eighteen Samanthas (sons of Brahmins and Kshatriya women), also Vaishyas (Chettras) and Sudras and low castes. Some of the Brahmins emigrated, and to prevent this for the future the sixty-four Kerala Anacharams *i.e.*, irregular customs of Keralam were prescribed.”

Srī Sankara Acharya is said to have promulgated these customs to be observed by the Nambutiris, and they are to this day observed by them. It would be tedious to enumerate here the sixty-four rules ; but some of them may be mentioned, in order to show how widely they differ from those of other Brahmins.

- (1). You must not bathe with clothes worn on your person.
- (2). You must bathe if you touch polluted wells or tanks.

- (3). You must not chew betel while you are polluted.
- (4). The corpse of a man should be burnt in his own compound.
- (5). Brahmin females must not look at any other persons besides their own husbands.
- (5). Brahmin females must not go out unaccompanied by female servants.
- (7). They should wear only white clothes.
- (8). Their noses should not be pierced.
- (9). Brahmins should not pour blessings upon each other.
- (10). They should not bow down to another person.
- (11). Brahmins should wear only one sacred thread.
- (12). The eldest son only is entitled to legal marriage.

The word Nambutiri is derived, according to Dr. Gundert, from the Dravidian verb Nambuka (=to confide, desire), and the common Sanscrit affix, tiri (=office, dignity). This derivation seems to be correct, because the Nambutiris are even to this day the confidential advisers and trusted friends of Rajahs and people of influence.

The caste may be divided into two classes—Nambutiripads and Nambutiris. The former are superior in rank and are 'Adyans, *i.e.*, versed in the Vedas. They are expected to be stricter than the latter in their religious duties, and amongst them the eldest son alone may marry, his brother being expected to refrain even from concubinage with Nayar (Sūdra) females. The common Nambutiris are not expected to be so strict, and they, as a rule, form fugitive connections with Nayar women.

The Nambutiris are Vedic Brahmins. Mr. Logan says, in his District Manual: "It has been conjectured from the use of the phrase 'Arya Brahmanar' that they are of pure Aryan descent, but the fact requires proof and is certainly not borne out by personal appearances! The bulk of them follow the Rig or Yajur Veda, and a few follow the Sama Veda. And some are excluded from studying the Vedas altogether. The latter trace their origin from Pannijur (literally pig) Gramom, and the former from Sukapurom, or Sivaparom. In the early history of the caste there was a quarrel between them, and the Sukapurom Gramom had the best of the quarrel. The Panniyur Gramom Nambutiris are not allowed even to dine with the Sukapurom sect. The Nambutiris who have performed a public sacrifice (Yagam) are called Choma-trippads (*i. e.* persons who have sacrificed with Soma juice)."

The Nambutiris' houses are called Illom, or Mana. These Mannas are built almost always in the interior of Amsoms (Parishes)—far away from the public roads and bazaars. Each Illom has a compound all round it, and two tanks, one for bath-

ing and one for cleaning vessels. The Illoms do not generally present a neat appearance like the Nayar houses. Every Illom has a pit near the verandah, where the Nambutiris spit the masticated betel leaf, and every tank has a urinal pit and sometimes a latrine attached to it. These pits are not cleared for days together, and the stench coming from them is abominable. Fortunately for the Nambutiris, their Illoms are not situated in municipalities, or they would all be liable to prosecution for nuisance. There are, of course, honourable exceptions.

The Nambutiris are a tall, fair, and handsome race, and, as a rule lead very simple lives. They rise very early in the morning—3 A.M. and immediately bathe in the cold water of their tanks. They then spread their clothes out to dry and go almost naked to their religious exercises in the temple. After this, and till 11 o'clock, the more religious of them read or recite their Vedas. At 11 o'clock they dine, and after that they devote themselves to various employments. Their favourite pastimes are cards and chess. The elephant is their hobby. In the evening they bathe in oil and again resort to the temple till about 9 P.M., when they sup and retire for the night.

Their dress, too, is very simple, and consists of an under and an upper cloth. On extraordinary occasions the long upper cloth is twisted round their loins and each leg separately. They wear no ornaments except finger rings.

The women are styled Anterjanam, or Agattammamar (indoors people), appropriate names, as, after attaining maturity, they are rarely seen abroad. They must not look on the face of any human being of the male sex except their husbands; and, when they travel, they are invariably preceded by a crier, in the person of a Nair woman called a brishali, who warns off male travellers by a long drawn shout of '*Ahayi*.' Besides this, they are protected by their large cadjan umbrellas. The Anterjanam never travel in any cart, or in a railway train. They are capable of walking from twenty to twenty-five miles a day at a stretch.

Like the men, they dress very simply in an under-cloth round the loins and passed between the legs, and an upper cloth wrapped round the breasts under the armpits and reaching as far as the thighs. They wear gold ear-rings and gold ornaments on the neck, and they wear brass bracelets in profusion on their arms from the wrist to the elbow; but they are not allowed to wear silver or gold bracelets or rings. On their forehead they wear sandal paste marks after bathing. Unlike the Brahmins of other parts of India, the widows do not shave their heads, but simply remove the brass bracelets. Widows are not allowed to re-marry. The Anterjanams can read the Malayalam language.

In a Nambutiri's Illom only the eldest son marries. This custom is observed with a view to the preservation of family property. The younger brothers co-habit with Nayar females, and many Nambutiri women necessarily never get a chance of marriage. It may be remarked, therefore, that the Nayars of Malabar, especially of South Malabar, where there are more Nambutiris than in North Malabar, are more intelligent and fairer than the Sudras of other coasts.

In order to get his daughters married at all, a Nambutiri must be rich, for he has to pay a rich dowry with each of them, and the resources of many Illoms have been drained in this way.

A Nambutiri may marry as many as seven wives; and instances in which a Nambutiri has married only one wife are very rare. The details of the marriage ceremonies are too long for insertion here. The horoscopes of the pair must agree; then the dowry is settled; formal sanction to marry his daughter is asked by the bridegroom from the bride's father; the bridegroom goes in state to the bride's house; there is much feasting and ceremony; the dowry and the daughter are handed over simultaneously to the bridegroom by the father; the pair then take seven steps forward and seat themselves; then follows a sacrifice, and the final act at the bride's house is the father's delivery of her to the groom with a solemn injunction to treat her well. The procession then comes back to the bridegroom's house, where again feasting and ceremonies occur, and finally the pair are escorted to the nuptial couch. The priest leads in the pair and seats them on the couch, and then withdraws and locks the door and remains outside reciting appropriate passages, which are repeated and followed by the bridegroom from within. The wife then serves the husband with his first meal, and on the fifth day the ceremonies end by the husband laying aside his staff and untying the sacred thread on his right arm.

Trials of caste offences among Nambutiris are so curious, and throw such light on their ways of thinking and acting, that it is worth while to quote the following narration from Mr. Logan's *Malabar Manual*.

"The local chieftain's sanction for the trial of the offence is first of all necessary. The Nambutiri family (Bhattathire) which has the privilege of furnishing the president (Smartha), and the number of members (Meemamsakas) required to form a tribunal, are different in different parts of the country.

When a woman is suspected by her own kinsmen, or by neighbouring Brahmins, of having been guilty of light conduct, she is, under pain of excommunication of all her kinsmen, placed under restraint. The maid servant (*Dashi*, or *Veshali*)

who is indispensable to every Nambutiri family, if not to every individual female thereof, is then interrogated, and if she should criminate her mistress, the latter is forthwith segregated and a watch set upon her. When the family can find a suitable house for the purpose, the *Sāddhanam* (the *thing*, or *article*, or *subject*, as the suspected person is called) is removed to it ; otherwise she is kept in the family house, the other members finding temporary accommodation elsewhere.

The examination of the servant maid is conducted by the Nambutiris of the Gramom, who, in the event of the servant accusing her mistress, proceed without delay to the local chieftain, who has the power to order a trial. And authority is granted in writing to the local *Smartha*, who in turn calls together the usual number of *Mimāṃsakas* (persons skilled in the law).

They assemble at some convenient spot, generally in a temple, not far from the place where the accused may be. All who are interested in the proceedings are permitted to be present ; order is preserved by an officer deputed by the chief for the purpose, and he stands sword in hand near the *Smartha* and members of the Tribunal. The only other member of the court is a Nambutiri called the *Agakkoyma*, whose duties will be described presently.

When all is ready, the chief's warrant is first read out and the accused's whereabouts ascertained.

The *Smartha*, accompanied by the officer on guard and the *Agakkoyma* Nambutiri, next proceeds to the accused's house ; the officer on guard remains outside while the others enter. At the entrance, however, they are met by the maid-servant, who up to this time has never lost sight of the accused and who prevents the men from entering. In feigned ignorance of the cause for thus being stopped, the *Smartha* demands an explanation and is told that a person is in the room. The *Smartha* demands more information, and is told that the person is no other than such and such a lady, the daughter, or sister, or mother (as the case may be) of such and such a Nambutiri of such and such an Illom. The *Smartha* professes profound surprise at the idea of the lady being where she is, and again demands an explanation.

Here begins the trial proper. The accused, who is still strictly *gasha*, is questioned through the medium of the maid, and she is made to admit that there is a charge against her. This is the first point to be gained, for nothing further can be done in the matter until the accused herself has made this admission.

This point, however, is not very easily gained at times, and the *Smartha* has often to appeal to her own feelings and knowledge of the world and asks her to recollect how unlikely it

would be that a Nambutiri female of her position should be turned out of her parents' house and placed where she then was unless there was some cause for it.

In the majority of cases this preliminary stage is got over with little trouble, and is considered a fair day's work for the first day.

The Smartha and his colleagues then return to the assembly, and the former relates in minute detail all that has happened since he left the conclave. The Agakkoyma's task is to see that the version is faithful. He is not at liberty to speak, but whenever he thinks the Smartha has made a mistake as to what happened, he removes from his shoulders and lays on the ground a piece of cloth as a sign for the Smartha to brush up his memory. The latter takes the hint and tries to correct himself. If he succeeds, the *Agakkoyma's* cloth is replaced on his shoulders, but if not, the *Smartha* is obliged to go back to the accused and obtain what information is required.

When the day's proceedings are finished, the members of the tribunal are sumptuously entertained by the accused's kinsmen, and this continues to be done so long as the enquiry lasts. A trial sometimes lasts several years, the tribunal meeting occasionally and the accused's kinsmen being obliged to entertain the members and any other Nambutiris present on each occasion, while the kinsmen themselves are temporarily cut off from intercourse with other Brahmins pending the result of the trial, and all *Sradhas* (sacrifices to benefit the souls of the deceased ancestors) are stopped. The reason for this is that, until the woman is found guilty or not, and until it is ascertained when the sin was committed, they cannot, owing to the probability that they have unwittingly associated with her after her disgrace, be admitted into society until they have performed the expiatory ceremony (*Prayaschittam*).

The tribunal continues its sittings as long as may be necessary, that is, until either the accused confesses and is convicted, or her innocence is established. No verdict of guilty can be given against her except on her own confession; no amount of evidence is sufficient.

In former days when the servant accused her mistress, and there was other evidence forthcoming, but the accused did not confess, various modes of torture were had recourse to in order to extort a confession, such as rolling up the accused in a piece of matting and letting the bundle fall from the roof to the courtyard below. This was done by women, and the mat supplied the place of the *purdah*. At other times live rattan snakes and other vermin were turned into the room beside her, and even in certain cases cobras; and it is said that if, after having been with the cobra a certain length of time, and un-

hurt, the fact was accepted as conclusive evidence of her innocence.

In cases when the accused offers to confess, she is examined, cross-examined and re-examined very minutely as to time, place, person, circumstances, &c., &c., but the name of the adulterer is withheld (though it may be known to all) to the very last. Sometimes a long list of persons is given and similarly treated:

Innocent persons are sometimes named and have to purchase impunity at great expense. In one case a woman who had indicated several persons was so nettled by the continual 'who else?' 'Who else?' of the zealous scribe who was taking down the details, that she at last, to his intense astonishment, pointed to himself as one of them, and backed it up by sundry alleged facts.

The persons accused by the woman are never permitted to disprove the charges against them, but the woman herself is closely cross-examined and the probabilities are carefully weighed. And every co-defendant, except the one who, according to the woman's statement, was the first to lead her astray, has a right to be admitted to the boiling-oil ordeal as administered at the temple of Suchindram in Travancore. If his hand is burnt, he is guilty; if it comes out clean, he is judged as innocent. The ordeal by weighing in scales is also at times resorted to. The order for submission to these ordeals is called a *pampu* and is granted by the President (*Smartha*) of the tribunal. Money goes a long way towards a favourable verdict, or towards a favourable issue in the ordeal.

The tribunal meets at the accused's temporary house in the *Pumukham* (drawing room) after the accused has admitted that she is where she is because there is a charge against her. She remains in a room, or behind a big umbrella, unseen by the members of the tribunal and other inhabitants of the *Desom* who are present, and the examination is conducted by the *Smartha*. A profound silence is observed by all present except by the *Smartha*, and he alone puts such questions as have been arranged beforehand by the members of the tribunal. The solemnity of the proceedings is enhanced to the utmost degree by the demeanour of those present. If the accused is present in the room, she stands behind her maid-servant, and whispers her replies into her ear to be repeated to the assembly.

Sometimes the greatest difficulty is experienced in getting her to confess, but this is usually brought about by the novelty of the situation, the scanty food, the protracted and fatiguing examination, and the entreaties of her relatives, who are being ruined, and by the expostulations and promises of the *Smartha*, who tells her it is best to confess and repent, and promises to

get the chief to take care of her and comfortably house her on the bank of some sacred stream, where she may end her days in prayer and repentance. The solemnity of the proceedings, too, has its effect. And the family often come forward, offering her a large share of the family property if she will only confess and allow the trial to end.

When by these means the woman has once been induced to make a confession of her weakness, everything becomes easy. Hitherto strictly *Gosha*, she is now asked to come out of her room, or lay aside her umbrella, and to be seated before the *Smartha* and the tribunal. She sometimes even takes betel and nut in their presence.

When the trial is finished, a night (night-time seems to be essential for this part of the trial) is set apart for pronouncing sentence, or, as it is called, for "declaring the true figure, frame, or aspect" of the matter. It takes place in the presence of the local chieftain who ordered the trial. A faithful and most minutely detailed account of all the circumstances and of the trial is given by the *Smartha*, who winds up with the statement that his 'child,' or 'boy' (a term applied by Nambutiris to their east coast *Patter* servants), will name the adulterer or adulteress. Thereupon the servant comes forward, steps on to a low stool, and proclaims the name or the names.

The next proceeding, which formally deprives the accused woman of all her caste privileges, is called the "*Krikkottal*," or hand-clapping ceremony. The large palmyra leaf umbrella with which all Nambudiri females conceal themselves from prying eyes in their walks abroad, is usually styled the 'mask Umbrella, and is with them the outward sign of chastity. The sentence of excommunication is passed by the *Smartha* in the woman's presence, and thereupon the accused's Umbrella is formally taken from her hands by a Nayar of a certain caste, the pollution-remover of the Desom. With much clapping of hands from the assembly, the woman is then instantly driven forth from her temporary quarters and all her family ties are broken. Her kinsmen perform certain rites and formally cut her off from relationship. She becomes in future to them even less than if she had died. Indeed, if she happens to die in the course of the enquiry, the proceedings go on as if she were still alive, and they are formally brought to a conclusion in the usual manner by a verdict of guilty or of acquittal against the men implicated.

The woman thus driven out goes where she likes. Some are recognized by their seducers; some become prostitutes; not a few are taken as wives by the Chetties of Calicut. A few find homes in institutions specially endowed to receive them."

The Nambutiris are a very conservative people. English

education has no charm for them. In a community of 7,227 individuals not more than a dozen persons have received English education. They are a race without cares and anxieties of this world. Ninety per cent of them are Jenmis, *i.e.*, who own birthright in the soil, or lords of their lands. The British Courts fully recognise their proprietary rights, and they wring out as much as possible from their tenants. They are very great civil litigants, but they are much afraid of Criminal Courts and Police Officers. They exact great reverence from the low caste people and are most punctillious in this respect. They endeavour in everything to make it appear in their conduct and conversation that all the excellences are the birthright of the *Nambutiris*, and that whatever is low and mean is the portion of the lower orders of society. The Nairs must address them as Tamburans (Princes), must not, while speaking to a Nambutiri, call his own food "rice," but 'stony' or 'gritty rice;' his money he must call his 'copper cash,' and so on. In approaching a Nambutiri, low caste people, male and female, must uncover to the waist as a token of respect.

There are only 1,017 Nambutiri families in the whole of Malabar. The custom that only the eldest son in a family may marry in his own caste tends to militate against the increase of population in the community. Indeed, from time to time Illoms become extinct and their property becomes escheated to Government.

It is hoped that the Malabar Marriage Act will bring about the desired effect, *vis.*, the marriage of Nambutiris in their own caste.

S. APPADORAI IYER.

ART. X.—THE WILDS OF THE SASSERAM HILLS.

AN excursion which I made a few years ago to the Sasseram Hills may be interesting, if not on account of the special results that were achieved, at all events as showing what one of the wilder parts of India, only a few miles off the beaten tracks of trade and population, is like.

Very little, it may be premised, seems to be known to any one of these Sasseram Hills. It is imagined among a very small, and exclusive circle of sportsmen that they have been there after tigers; and, indeed, tigers, as well as other big game, are most abundant; but they (the sportsmen) have really seen no more than the jungles at the base of the hills into which tigers sometimes descend, and whence some magnificent live specimens have been secured for the Doornia State and the Calcutta Zoological Garden. There is a record of only one unfortunate local Indigo Planter, of the several whose factories dot the banks of the Sone thereabout, having attempted to shoot tigers in the higher regions; and he was bodily snapped off and carried away from the top of his elephant, his remains being never seen after. But that was only on the eastern edge of the plateau, and not in the interior, among the denser jungles, and wilder ravines and hills. My account of the sights that may be seen in the far interior may thus come as a revelation to many of the oldest Indians; but anyone who has a mouth, and a few bags of rupees to spare, and does not mind being surrounded by tigers and bears, may go there and see for himself.

I have traversed many of the wilder parts of India, up in the Himalayas and down in the Central Provinces—parts untrodden even by the ardent *shikari*—, and can say that these hills, lying within a day's ride of the great cities and towns in the Gangetic valley, and of the East Indian Railway, conceal extraordinary natural wonders, and are marked by a wildness and seclusion so impressive as almost to transport one to some of the primeval wilds of Africa or Borneo. The hills form the Eastern extremity of the great Kaimoor range, which may be described as running north of the Sone along its entire length, from Rewah—or say the Bundelcund hills—, and dividing it from the Ganges. This range has been traversed by me almost through its entire length, from Bundelcund to Sasseram, and I can testify, from personal observation, to its being, besides, everywhere characterised by mineral deposits—some of great value.

There are diamonds in Punnah, as we all know; followed by

coal, limestone and corundum, and probably rubies, in Rewah ; and these are succeeded by the limestone, slate, coal, jade and other minerals of the (almost unknown) principalities of Barhar and Singraulie, finally to end here, at Sasseram, with the minerals which will be noted below. When, therefore, a commission—a double commission—was entrusted to me to examine these hills, and every facility was placed at my disposal for the purpose, I, in spite of friendly warnings, accepted it with eagerness. Those were the days when the first thoughts were being entertained of a shorter line of communication for the East Indian Railway across the Sone to Mogulserai, and one part of my commission was to ascertain whether the line could be made through the hills from the crossing near Dehree-on-Sone, hard by Rhotasgarh, to emerge on and into Doomraon territory. With this was combined the task of examining the hill territory for minerals, especially coal and diamonds. Coal, it may be added, had been found in abundance immediately to the South of the Sone, and there was reason to believe that there were other deposits to the North. Not only, too, had diamonds been found near Dehree-on-Sone, but tradition reported them to have been worked in these hills, and one sample was supposed to exist somewhere. This commission was entrusted to me by the very enlightened Dewan, or Manager, of the Doomraon Rāj, Jai Prokash Lall, Rai Bahadur, and C.I.E.

For the purposes of the expedition, which might last any period from six weeks to six months, and in which I might be cut off from a "base," or supplies, much "fitting out" was necessary. At Doomraon, I was supplied with a couple of elephants, camels, and the Maharajah's own tent—a large and commodious affair. I got here, also, two attendants, one being the Maharajah's *ferrash*, or tent superintendent, an old Mahomedan from Bombay, and the other His Highness's tiger and menagerie Jomadar. The latter was a strong young fellow—also a Mussalman—, who was over-eloquent about his courage and personal prowess when brought into contact with tigers. Leaving these two men to go overland with the tent and animals and heavy luggage, my next stage was Buxar, where I was to take the Canal steamer to Sasseram, and where I managed to secure the servants I required. I engaged two cooks, one a big burly Pathan from the North-West, and the other a slim young native of these parts. The former also was a mighty boaster. He, too, could fight tigers—a service by the way, which I did not require from him—and would remain by me even if everyone else deserted me! The young fellow had not much to say for himself. I took a double supply of cooks, so that not

only might one keep the other, as it were, in countenance, but I might, in the event of one running away, have another in reserve. It will be seen hereafter that had I taken three instead of two, it might have been better for me. With a "sweeper," and the rest, on a fine morning, I took my passage in the Canal steamer.

The canal works, with their numerous locks, and other arrangements impressed me much. There had undoubtedly been a great outlay—that is, on the whole system of the Behar canals—, but not only was there a small interest realised on this outlay, but there was evidence of a very large gain in the wealth it had created for the district and the return given to the cultivators. Subsequently, when I arrived at Sasseram, and went to the top of the plateau, I could see plainly marked the difference between the area watered by the canals and the outlying tracts. The former were green, and the latter, dry, brown and arid. It is not surprising that Mr. Deakin of Victoria (Australia), who was sent out by his government to study the Indian system of irrigation, was so favourably impressed with what he saw here, that he forthwith produced a valuable and handsome book on the subject, and recommended the adoption of State irrigation in his own colony; or that other colonies are also taking up the matter. Even in the Cape Colony and Natal, in South Africa, they are moving about it.

At the close of the day the pleasant boat journey was over, and I was soon at my own "camp," which was pitched just outside of the town of Sasseram, with the great and smaller tents, the elephants, camels, &c. The camel was a young and excellent one, and was wholly for carrying the main tent, which weighed about eight maunds, the regulation burden for a camel. The bigger of the two elephants was the Prince's own riding beast, by name "Shah Pasand," and was marked not only by his great size and tusks, but by his peculiarly morose temper. He had always, when being led or ridden, two attendants, besides the *Mahout* on him—one on either flank, with long sharp lances pointed at his head. I was told, as the reason for this, that he was a most dangerous animal, with a very uncertain temper, and that it was impossible to observe more lenient treatment with him. Although, however, I rode him on several occasions (till he was sent back, as will be seen), I found no signs of either chronic or acute mania. On the contrary, I came to the conclusion that the ill-treatment and suspicion to which he was subjected were the causes of his moroseness. I stopped at once the needless cruel ill-treatment of the heavy goading on the head, and this, I may add, I have never suffered on any elephant

under my orders or observation. Knowing how sensitive these animals are to the goad, I can never hear even the distant snort of pain of an elephant without being filled with indignation. On one occasion, in another province, I had my "camp" near a chief's elephants, which used, every day, when being led to water, &c., to be needlessly punished by the drivers; and I had the practice stopped by representing the matter to the chief. Well, this great beast, *Shah Pasand*, being destined (as I thought) to be my main reliance in my future journeying through the wilds on the hills, I took much interest in him, and tried to make a friend of him. His men would warn me off at first; but I "pooh-poohed" them, and persisted in taking some notice of him with loaves of bread, &c., which he was very glad to receive from me, while regarding me with an eye of wondering study, as if to say:—"You are a strange human being who shows me any kindness and are not afraid to come near me." He was, indeed, a magnificent beast, and would have made short work of any tiger who might have had the temerity to attack him. I may add, that afterwards, on the one or two occasions on which only I took him into the jungles before I sent him back, the couple of attendants with the lances were too frightened to proceed on either side of him on foot, and consequently took their places behind me on the *howdah*.

As I said, we camped outside Sasseram, half a mile or so from the mosque or tomb of the great Sher Shah, after whom also the celebrated fort of Shergarh, half way up the mountains on the west, in an inaccessible spot, is named. The mosque, with its surrounding buildings, covers an immense area, and would be remarkable anywhere even in India, the country of great tombs and mausoleums. It might have been well worthy a visit, but I had no time for it. I had nothing much to do at Sasseram except to arrange at the Post Office for my *dâk*, and having done that, I left the next day for Dehrigaon, at the foot of the hills, passing, on my way, through the native town, and from my high seat on the elephant viewing closely all the internal economy and arrangements of the native two-storeyed houses, with which I was on a level. The streets being only a few feet wide, I could rap the doors and windows of the upper storeys with my cane as I went along. Though there were the usual naked children and other passers-by, the elephant did not hurt any one, though the Mahout anticipated something dreadful. I have forgotten the other smaller elephant—some sacred animal by the way, with only one tusk—which took up portions of the tents, and the heavy luggage. On arrival that day at Dehrigaon, which is one of the revenue-collection centres of the Rāj, the man in charge,

called here a "Tahsildar," and a high-caste Brahmin, received me, installed me in the *kutcherry* house, and placed all his resources at my disposal.

Here I had to arrange for a daily supply of fresh provisions (including vegetables and fruit from Sasseram) and my *ddk*, as well as to engage reliable cooly-hands for general work. There was great noise and talk going on all round, about all the men available in the village being summoned to meet me. In the midst of the confusion I could see my famous boaster of a Pathan cook, very busy talking with everyone, instead of cooking. In fact, I could not help hearing as well as seeing him, for his voice was louder than any other. I had to stay at Dehrigaon a couple of days, making my final preparations, which progressed well enough with the help of the able Tahsildar. Two incidents, however, which occurred, one on each evening, while I was here, may be recorded. The place in which my tent, which I now occupied, was pitched, was well secured at night, and there was a large enclosed ground all round. I had been cautioned about thieves. In the early part of the night I heard some one attempting to get in in the bath-room direction. There were chokeydars and my jemadar—the aforesaid tiger-fighting menagerie-keeper of Doomraon—in the front verandah of the tent; and, on my giving them the alarm, they rushed out, but could see no one. The night was a dark one. After telling one of the chokeydars to be wakeful, I tried to go to sleep again, but could not, and in another half hour I heard footsteps approaching the back of the tent. I got up quietly, and, calling the chokeydar inside, made him listen. Then, having laid our plans, just as the tent was being again attempted, we both rushed out from the front, arousing the other sleepers with a loud shout and frightening their lives out of them, and made for the supposed intruder. Again, however, we failed to see him; but he left a shoe behind in his hurried flight. This we secured, and, stationing the men this time outside of the tent in front and rear, I went off to the rest I so much needed.

Nothing more was heard or seen of the supposed thief, and I left the shoe with the Tahsildar, to find out the man who owned it. On the second evening, when everything was packed for the departure the following day, the great big bulk of the Pathan cook came to me with an unusually cowed look, very different from his previous boastful mien, and said he wished to leave! He dared not go up the mountains, full of wild tigers of a monstrous size. He would stick by me to the last even as he had said, but he had no idea the country was so bad. He was a father of children, &c., &c., &c. I was so taken aback that I was

speechless for a while. The biggest man (and the biggest boaster), and my chief cook, abandoning me before I had even well begun my journey ! After rating him well for his cowardice and breach of faith, I demanded back the advance of wages I had given him at Buxar ; but, of course, he had not a *pie* of it with him. Besides, you may as well try to get butter out of a hungry dog's throat as money from a Pathan. So I told him I would realise it at Buxar on my return, and let him depart. I saw him clear off on the way, footing it to Sasseram with his bundle on his back, and thought within myself, "there goes a precious specimen of humanity and a thief." Had I not let him go, he would have taken "French leave" at night, and I could not delay my departure to get him caught and punished. He would march back on foot all the way to Buxar, and congratulate himself on both having "done" me, and saved his skin from the tigers ! The younger and quieter cook stayed on, notwithstanding all the tiger-stories he had been dosed with by the other, who had, it seems, made it his business during these two days to enquire into the matter of tigers in the wilds upon the hills from the men going about me, and not to cook.

There was a straight and not very steep path up the face of the hills from here ; and there was a road up the hills with an easier gradient a good way further east, round a bold bluff that projected between. The loads and animals, and servants, were all sent by this other route, early in morning, the big elephant alone being reserved for my ascent of the nearer pass. After skirting a deal of low scrub and dense jungle on the right, being the parts where the "tiger-shoots" for the aforementioned exclusive company of sportsmen (at that time it used to consist of the Chief Justices of Calcutta and Allahabad and one or two "very particular" friends) were arranged, and where some stray monsters occasionally found their way from the hills above, we got on to the ascent. In a few minutes it was evident that the huge animal I rode could not negotiate it ; so I sent him off to go by the other route, and, amid the boulders and rocks, succeeded in forging my way up. On reaching the top, some miles off, and some couple of thousand feet high, I was glad to find that my tents had already arrived and were pitched with a very decent village hard-by.

Many of the villagers had never seen an elephant or a camel before, and men, women and children had all turned out to admire and gape at the animals. The head-man of the village, a stout, sturdy and honest-looking black Brahmin, came at once and offered his services ; and I retained him on the spot at a very fair remuneration to go through the whole remainder of my

wanderings in these wilds with me. His position was that of jemadar of coolies, whom he was to get me every day for my examinations of the soils and rocks, and for my transport. For I saw at once that I could not depend on either the camel or the elephants on the rough broken ground and hills that I saw all round and beyond. I may say here that I found this man's services invaluable. He was a plain and simple hill-man, and, though a Brahmin, entirely without guile. He was certainly not a Brahmin of the plain country, and his very dark complexion and his features, stamped him as being of one of the aboriginal races, though how he became a Brahmin must remain a mystery. He was my right hand man in most of my excursions and journeys. That was, however, all he was fit for : for, though a Brahmin, he had a head as dense as a bullock's.

The villagers here were very poor, cultivating painfully small patches of common crops and vegetables, and owning—or rather renting, though they had owned them previously—a few trees each of the *Mohwa*. This is, indeed, a wonderful tree in every way—for its size, its peculiar flower-product, its long-continued yield, its abundance of produce, and its seed or nut ; and is the great stand-by of an enormous extent of country, ranging over several hundred miles square in the heart of India and in its poorest provinces. The flower is not only eaten as food, but may be kept dried, reduced to powder, and baked as cakes. It also yields sugar, and, by fermentation, a kind of spirit. The low brushwood and jungles about, too, once belonged to the villagers, but latterly charcoal-makers from the low plain country have got the exclusive farming of them for charcoal-burning. All this seems very oppressive ; and on my return I recommended the removal of these imposts and restrictions and the restitution of old rights, as a bare act of justice. I hope something has been done, but I fear not, as the Prince died shortly after ; and Jai Perakash Lall was overwhelmed with work, lost his own health, and soon followed his master. Were the great estate to come under the humane management of an efficient European gentleman of the Court of Wards, something might be hoped for here.

I began here at once to carry out one of the two objects of my journey, the mineralogical examination of the country ; for the other, the adaptibility of the country for a line of railway from Dehree-on-Sone, the stretch of the hills beyond Doomraon territory, as far South as Rhotasgarh, was to be viewed. This was not the place to undertake the latter work.

Immediately outside the village lands, the ground was

covered everywhere with the "spoor" of leopards. I was told tigers seldom come about here, their direct way down to the aforesaid jungle at the base of the hills lying in another direction, which we should find several stages further west. There were, however, tigers to the South, in some heavy jungle, and as that side appeared promising for both gold and coal—I had found a particle or two of coal not far from the village, while making an excavation—, I determined to devote a day's journey to it. The way appearing pretty free from abrupt ascents and descents, I used the big elephant for the journey. I may here say that I carried no rifle with me, had only a hammer in my hand, and thought more of the nature of the rocks as we slowly went along, breaking through the jungle and high trees and branches, than of tigers. Having at last, after many miles, convinced myself that there was promising quartz, I got off at the side of a narrow stream, cooked my "billy" of tea, and returned to my camp. In one excavation I made by the side of a water channel near the village, I came across a variety of ordinary adjuncts of the diamond, and had considerable "washing" going on for a couple of days ; but, after arriving at certain conclusions as to the presence of these adjuncts, I determined on leaving the work for a future opportunity if it ever came.

It was while I was camped by this village, that I lost my other remaining cook and the "sweeper." I believe the latter would have gone further with me, but was persuaded by the cook, whose courage gave way here. The unmistakeable remains of leopards in every direction had frightened the poor fellow out of his wits. It was in vain I told him that no leopard would attack him if he had a stout stick, with one good blow of which he could floor the animal. In the end, I positively refused to let him go ; and the natural result followed. There was a small patch of scrub beyond a rivulet immediately behind the kitchen tent, and my Jemadar—the menagerie hero—came to me a short time afterwards, to say that the cook and sweeper had both bolted with their bundles, and at this time were in the scrub. I at once tried a masterpiece of generalship to cut off their retreat, and sent men off in various directions leading to the pass by which I had come up. This succeeded for the time, and I soon saw the guilty couple slink back into their tent. I called them, and gave them a rating, and I also set a guard on them. But it proved to be all in vain, for an hour afterwards I heard they had again bolted ! They had managed to "square" the guard. I determined this time to let them go, and to see what could be done with a cook improvised out of the Jemadar aforesaid ; and I managed very well.

Having thoroughly examined this place and its neighbourhood, I pushed forward. It is easy, however, to write "pushed forward." The actuality was far different; in fact, it was one of the worst "marches" I ever made in a life of marching." I examined my map—a rude sketch,—to which I added enquiries of the villagers. Even the best finished maps published by the Surveyor General, of the wilder parts of India, are quite unreliable, the details being entered on the merest guess or native gossip. Villages are entered which have no existence, hills and chains of hills laid down which have no counterpart on the actual surface of the country, and streams put in places where no man's feet have ever trod. I was to proceed south-west, and, according to my map, the next stage was only ten miles. According to the villagers it was nearer fifteen miles, and I found it to be so. The animals and baggage were again sent ahead at daybreak (the time, indeed, when I should have gone myself), the big elephant being retained for my riding. When I started at about 10 A.M., the sun was very hot. A mile or so from where we started there was an easy hill to negotiate; but somehow the elephant laboured and floundered about heavily. I had observed, a day or two before, that the *mahouts* of the two elephants were most unwilling to go further, raising various objections as to the food-supply of the animals, and their inability to do hill work. The latter objection I knew to be absurd, for elephants are expert climbers. And, though there was no grain to spare in these hill villages, there was any quantity of the leaves of the *bull tree* (*ficus religiosa*), which elephants delight in. The real truth was that the *mahouts* did not like the idea of having to spend some three months in jungles swarming with tigers and wild animals. In short, the man was purposely making the animal flounder on and at parts came to a dead stop. So I had the choice before me of either having a grilling hot day of it on the back of the elephant, or getting off and making my way on foot. I chose the latter alternative, and, dismounting, gave orders for the elephant to be taken down to the plains again.

I may add here, that I sent the other elephant and the camel to join him the next day. The latter animal was certainly unfitted for this difficult and uncanny country, though its driver was a most cheerful and happy fellow, and I parted with them both with regret. There was, however, no help for it. Well, the day was frightfully hot, and, what was even worse, the rocks and hills we had to traverse were *one sheet of solid iron*. It is easy to tread the heather, or the light springy turf, but very hard and painful to tramp on mile after mile, under a burning sun, on rough and broken boulders and sheets of iron.

Every step is painfully felt throughout the whole bony-framework of the body ; and further, there was not a drop of water to be met with till near midway of the 14 miles, and then none again till the end. However, the march was accomplished, after a weary six hours. A pleasant scene of cultivation in a glen was passed on the left, and its name was strongly suggestive of gold. I have already said that I had previously met with some indications of the precious metal, and it is probable that there is gold somewhere hereabout, owing to the evidently volcanic action exerted here in past ages, joined with the existence of iron. This would also, according to my theory, betoken the existence of diamonds. I had, however, as yet found no trace of any blue or other clay or gravel. At last, at about 3 P.M., I sighted my comfortable tent nicely pitched in the centre of a wide glade under a spreading tree, and, making for it, threw myself on a camp chair and ordered a cup of tea.

The day, meanwhile, from the extremely fierce heat, had turned cloudy, and it began to look as if there would be a thunderstorm. And then, just as I had managed to get my tea, began a peculiar thunderstorm, the like of which I have only once or twice experienced in any part of India, or out of India. I was in the centre of a sloping glade, about a mile or so in width and with a dead unbroken wall of a chain of hills on three sides, the open side being high above me. There was also a great deal of iron in these hills—probably, as I had already found on the way here, in *sheets*. The flashes were incessant, and the crashes were harsh, and metallic, reverberating round and round the barrier wall of hills with a grinding, crushing sound that was appalling. When I say that this lasted for fully an hour and upward, during which time the rain poured in torrents, and that, owing to my tent being in the centre of a downward slope, with nearly half a mile of the sloping ground above it, a roaring and rushing torrent began to sweep down upon it, my situation and feelings can well be imagined. There was no time to “think.” Notwithstanding the blinding rain and the continuous uproar, the smaller tents and animals and men being quite safe on somewhat higher ground on either side, I called in every available hand to save the tent and my belongings from being swept bodily into the depths below. Here my engineering skill came into good account. With spade and mattock and hoe, I set the men to divert the main stream, now flowing (through my tent), into two channels on either side of it. To cut off the overflow from this, a second pair of channels was made just outside the walls of the tent. This operation was soon accomplished, and the tent saved ; but not until every-

thing inside, camp-cot, bed and bedding, and stores, had been thoroughly soaked. The next day had to be given up entirely to drying everything in the sun, and resting. The small elephant and camel, too, had been sent back, so that I found myself here in the heart of these wilds, without a cook, without an animal to ride on, and without the means of transporting my heavy tents and luggage. I had learnt, however, that I could procure men enough to carry my loads from my various stages, and I had enough cash with me to pay them. As for myself I made up my mind to foot it henceforward, and I heartily regretted not having provided myself with a *doolie* and *kahars*, which, if only in case of illness or accident, would have been so serviceable.

The next was one of the most interesting stages of my journey in connexion with the question of the possibility of a line of railway from Dehree-on-Sone through these hills, as to the south was perfectly level country which looked on Rhotasgarh in the distance, on an edge of the plateau, with a deep and immense jungle filling up a circular indentation in the rise. Besides, here alone could a great bridge in these hills be avoided, as near the head waters of the only considerable stream flowing through them westward. Having taken note of these features, I spent a day in going to view the circular indentation and hollow already mentioned, filled with mighty jungle and tigers, and in taking the bearings of Rhotasgarh. The Sone lay just beyond, and Dehree across it. The fort was, indeed, an eagle's perch amid the rocks. The line of railway was undoubtedly practicable, and should be along here; but the expense of bridging the Sone would be enormous, and who would bear it? It must be remembered that the Jherriah coal fields had not then been opened, nor had the East Indian Railway taken the bit of initiative and expense in its mouth. The idea of another and shorter cut across was only dimly apprehended by a few wise heads like that of the grand old Dewan of Doomraon, and that for the private benefit of the Shahabad property of the Maharajah. From this camping ground as a centre, according to my usual practice, I made a close mineral examination of the hills and wilds all round for some miles. The traces of iron and gold began here to give way.

Let me now proceed to the next stage, which also was done by me on foot, and which was accomplished with the help of an army of coolies carrying the tents, luggage, &c. After my late experience, I had taken the precaution of issuing stringent orders to the *ferrash* to wait for my arrival before pitching the tents, so that I might select a safe and suitable site. At this "camp," then, everything was fair and square.

A few miles to the north was another circular indentation, with another "Tiger Bay"—as I called these places—down below at the base. The jungle below was not very thick, but sufficiently so to afford excellent cover for the tigers that made their way down from the hills, and it was this jungle that was the shooting ground of the exclusive set of sportsmen already referred to. The iron had now disappeared, and given place to light, gravelly, yellow clay. It was also somewhere here that the tradition regarding diamonds lingered, though there was not the smallest of villages anywhere near. My *dāk* at this place avoided the long circuitous route I had taken through the hills, and came up direct across "Tiger Bay." The view of the plain country below, including the canals and their green tracts and the dry, brown country about them, from the crest, a little distance from my camp, was very charming and refreshing.

Only two incidents worth recording occurred here. While seated at my tent door one day at noon, watching the cooly-jemadar, the aforementioned black hill-Brahmin, taking a dip in a small river that flowed not far off, I saw him suddenly run up the bank and come towards me shouting and with frantic gestures. He was always a quiet, stolid and well-behaved man, and his present behaviour perfectly astonished me. He stood and poured forth a torrent of words volubly and incoherently, from which all I could manage to gather was that, while he was taking a dip in the stream, his "sacred thread" (which he held aloft) had caught in a submerged snag, and had snapped; that consequently he could neither eat nor drink till the thread was replaced by another sound one from a holy "guru" Brahmin; that he must, therefore, at once set off for his own native village, and he begged of me to give him two coolies to accompany him as a protection against wild animals. Having given him time to calm down, I convinced him that there was no need for him to go all that distance (and thus detain me here), but that he could take a safer route to a nearer village where there was a Brahmin who would give him a new thread. Having brought him to see the reasonableness of what I said, I packed him off at once with a cooly; and had the satisfaction of seeing him come back the next evening radiant and smiling, and in his usual sensible mood, with his new "thread." The next incident was far more evil in its results to me. The brave menagerie-tiger man, by this, had ceased from his boasting of dealing with tigers with sticks. He had also begged of me to be allowed to sleep in the verandah, (which was closed and walled) of my tent, probably feeling that he would be safer with me. When he brought me my dinner, which he cooked, at night, from the

kitchen—about a couple of hundred yards away, on the edge of a rivulet—he used to come with the dishes in his hand, guarded by two coolies, one on each side, carrying large torches and spears, and yet looked mortally afraid ! This was so amusing that I rallied him, and told him that there were several tigers waiting and on the watch for him only, and ready to pounce on him ! This ridicule, however, did not answer its purpose, and he came to me with folded hands one day saying he wanted to be sent down, and begging me to give him two men to go with him through “Tiger Bay !” I had, by this time, become quite case-hardened against going without a decent meal, and was so disgusted at his unmanly and selfish request, that I told him to go at once, gave him the men he wanted, and packed him off.

When he had gone, the poor Bombayite, the afore-mentioned *ferrash* in charge of the Prince’s tent, &c., actually sat down on the ground, and cried like a child, saying : “He could not run away and leave the Prince’s things. He would now die !” and, further ;—“who would now cook for me ?” I quieted and calmed him, by telling him first that he could at least cook my hot water for tea, eggs, &c., and also some little *Hindustani* dish once a day in the evening ; secondly, that I would give him thenceforward double rations of *ghri*, &c., and a share of all my eggs, fowls, vegetables, &c., so that he would feed like a prince and recall the youth of his old Bombay days ; thirdly, that I would double his salary, and in addition give him a handsome *douceur* at the end of the expedition. Further, and lastly, I told off two coolies solely to attend to him for wood, water, washing up, &c., &c. By the time I ended, he had dried up his tears, and tried even to smile ! It would never have done for me to have lost this the last man of my original party, however old and feeble ; for I could not do my work and be encumbered with the care, removal, &c., of my tents and the luggage.

My next stage after this led me past a curious washaway hole made by the rains. I say “curious,” as there seemed to be no reason for the hole, being stiffish yellow-clay, and there being evidently no exit for the water, besides that the surface of the soil presented no hollow or displacement of level there. On examining this hole, I found, to my surprise, that large and brilliant irregular quartz crystals were plentifully besprinkled amid the clay. There was no reason, too, in the neighbourhood, why these quartz crystals should be there. It was evident that both had travelled from a distance. As a matter of fact, we were approaching the purest of pure blue and yellow diamond clay—as pure as any I had seen in the Punnah deposits at the other, or western, extremity of the Kaimoor range. I pitched my camp several miles away, on the only open clean spot I could

find, where there was (only) a very small stream of water. I was told that here was formerly the site of a small village; but owing to the tigers and bears, it had been abandoned. As usual, I had my tent under a large spreading tree in the centre of the open ground, which sloped downward to a small stream about 300 yards away, near which the servants' tents were pitched. It was the most unlikely spot for any one to pitch on, nothing but jungle all round, and long ranges of hills covered with silent areas of heavy forest never trod by human feet, but alive with wild beasts; and yet, it was while staying here and making excursions that I came on some of the most remarkable natural wonders I have met with anywhere in India, and undoubted indications of the best diamond ground. At night tigers used to roar past behind my closed tent; and as for bears, they must have been simply numberless from the marks of their digging and feeding left every morning.

I was informed here by my men that, in a certain direction, there was a mighty "kho," or "*canyon*," made by the only large river that intersects these hills; and I consequently determined to see it and examine the "formations" which would there be exposed. After due preparations I started, accompanied by a large number of coolies. After a long and toilsome march of several miles we came on this mighty *canyon*. The river rushed fully a thousand feet below, while either side consisted of rugged rocky and jungle-covered walls. On the side opposite to me stood a small ancient temple—supposed to be one of the difficult temples in India to which only a few hardy pilgrims now and then come. The existence of this temple here, and of other temples in the most desolate and unlikely spots, on the Sone, the Muhanuddy and the Upper Godavery, with the testimony of old buried cities and great ruins, and of tradition and legend, as well as the suggestive names of places, confirm my belief that there existed in the very earliest times—even in the *pre-Hindu* period—a mighty and extensive Gond or other empire which embraced the whole of the country from (the modern) Chupra and Patna, on the east, to the Konkan on the west, and from the Sone, on the north, to the Lower Godavery on the south—an empire full of great cities and towns, populous, and rich in mineral wealth of gold and precious stones. The ruins of great and ancient cities and extensive walls still lie buried in deep forests, now inhabited only by tigers.

I found the bluest and purest of diamond clay here—also other pure clays—indeed, so fine and lovely that I have never seen any equal to them anywhere. It was perfectly clear that hereabout was the eastern extremity of the volcanic chain which rested in Bundelcund (Punnah and beyond) at the other or western extremity. But the natural wonders of this part of

the country were not to end with this *canyon*. Quite in another direction, by the side of a range which I crossed along the tracks made by bears, by which tracks alone could we travel, and which I took for my guide, we came on a spectacle which completely took my breath away. Immediately in front of us lay a mighty sunken hole, *gulch*, or excavation, perfectly circular, and several miles in circumference and (as it appeared to me) over a thousand feet deep! The *canyon* we had visited was in another direction some miles away, and separated from this—volcanic crater?—by ranges of solid hills. Indeed, the range we had crossed by the bears' paths lay between the *canyon* and this mighty natural wonder, to look into the depth of which, even at the distance of some yards from the edge, made my head swim. My people themselves gazed with silent surprise, confessing that they had never heard before of this mighty hole. The edge all round was quite perpendicular—of course, rough and broken, and with grass and stunted bushes growing here and there; but when I proposed to them to go down to bring me some samples, and offered large inducements, to them to do so, not one—not even the jemadar—would hear of it. Far down below, at the bottom, it was level, and the track of some rivulet might be discerned by its greenness, and the existence of trees on its banks—trees which looked only a few inches high! An immense volume of water found its way down into the great *gulch*, but where and how the rivulet escaped, could not be seen. From the geological and mineralogical conditions of the surrounding country, I felt convinced that here was a veritable "Valley of Diamonds." It was, however, simply impossible to go down.

My engineering knowledge told me that at an expenditure of some thousands of rupees, a winding and practicable path might be made; but there the matter rested, and has rested to the present day. I have no hopes of ever re-visiting the locality; and, after lingering long near it, left with great regret, convinced as I was that here there were diamonds fit to be set in every crown in Europe. The results of my explorations were ample and numerous, as a variety of minerals were there, some in great abundance. Even a trace of coal had been found. As regards the line of railway, it was certainly practicable; but the great expense of the bridge over the Sone stood in the way, and it was a question whether, setting aside the mineral exploitation of the hills, it would not be more beneficial for the Maharajah's Shahabad estate for the line to traverse the low country and avoid the hills. As everyone is now aware this is the route that has actually been taken, the East Indian Railway having solved the questions of the bridge and expense.

"INDICOPLEUSTES."

ART. XI.—THE MAKING OF A SHRINE.

THE appearance, some time since, in *The Nineteenth Century*, of an article entitled "The Making of a Shrine in Italy" has aroused the question whether description of the making of a shrine in India might not be a subject of some interest. Answer in the affirmative is here attempted. In the way of coincidence, or whatever it is which seems to give the stimulus to things to fall together, it happened that, just before the number of the magazine referred to reached me, there had been opened to my view, and, let it be called so, investigation, a shrine in far away Cochin on the South-west coast of India, of much the same kind of wonder-working, much the same kind of making, as that in Italy. Like the latter, it is a Christian shrine. In both a picture is the means by which favours are brought down to poor mortals; but, while that in the Italian shrine, "according to the rules of ecclesiastical liturgy * * * must be an oil painting," here in the East it is a cheap oleograph; none the less impressive or miraculous, however. For the Italians, a nation with artistic susceptibilities, nothing less than a genuine work would, of course, be a means for dispensing favours. But here, where the real Rafaele would be rated below the more brilliant print; here, where there has not been developed that sense which, though it is unnecessary for maintaining man's existence, adds to his relief in continuing it—the sense through which he can appreciate an exquisite picture—, it is quite reasonable that the print may be as effective as the original painting. The picture of the Italian shrine was borne all the way to its place in a dung cart; an episode which did not, apparently, derogate from its value. It would have killed the oleograph.

The process of shrine-making is much the same the world wide over; on the same lines, that is. So, too, with a difference which will be noted presently, are the modes by which are gotten divine favours at places where some special manifestation of superhuman power has been, so to speak, communicated. Difference of race or creed matters not. The implication is that such shrines in all countries express ideas and feelings which are very deep in man's nature; which have so grown into it that they form part of it and are not to be eradicated by culture. We see them in the ceremonial of the cruder forms of religion where the deity is cannibalistic and bloody, and will, for the promise of a feast of blood, remove the unpleasant touch of her anger: * and we see them, for they

* In South India consider the immense Epoch which must have lapsed since man fashioned the rude stone tools of the earlier Paleolithic period until the later period when he had learnt as (Mr. Allen Brown has shown us) to strike off a long flake for a

are most persistent, surging up, as it were, amidst our modern Christianity in Europe. In the former they are at home ; when we find them in the latter, we call them survivals.

It is doubtful whether any one—the seer apart—whose milieu has always been that of the highly cultivated, can really know his fellow-men and women. To know them well ; to know them in all their grotesque conceptions of the universe they live in, and their place in it ; to know them in all their sympathies and feelings, which, however profoundly human, and of a part with our own, are yet difficult to fathom, or even (too often) to find ; he should know, to some extent, those who are without culture—those who wear the smallest quantity of the armour of conventionality. How thick it is worn in the great cities of Europe ! And we cannot lay it aside just yet. We are not yet so used to the conditions under which we find ourselves ; we are not yet such good friends with each other as we try and seem to be ; and we live in a perpetual state of defence, stifling the reality in our nature and pretending to be what we are not.† Half-an-hour in a West End drawing-room illustrates this beautifully. When Ibsen helps us off with some of this defensive armour and lets us see within, we do not like it. We think we are deluded ; but the fact is we do not know ourselves.

And if we cannot fully know ourselves, through ourselves at home, still less can we know our institutions, or even our customs ; trace our religious beliefs, or unravel our ceremonial, without the aid of examples from other lands. In these days of comparative folk lore who will deny this ? Not “ the dismal science ” this, for more than any other does it help us to realize the kinship of mankind ; more than any other does it stimulate the tentacles of our sympathies to reach out further. It is not, therefore, a dreary resemblance of customs of other lands to our own for which we seek, but rather for the underlying human feeling which animates and nourishes.

For the autopsy of custom, belief, or ceremonial, no country offers better opportunities than Southern India. In Europe a wonder-working shrine represents phases of religious thought

pear head at a single blow. It was a matter of many thousands of years before he learnt how to make one blow serve for six, although improvement in tools and weapons must have been the chief bent of his mind. Compare this advance, in perhaps fifty thousand years, with that in the last one thousand in England. Mind and body are not adapted completely to the changes in the way of things in this relatively short period.

† Compare the lofty thought of a verse from the Rig Vedas (the oldest) with what must be the religious ideas of the followers of the lower cult pure and simple. It would make this article too lengthy if we considered the effect of the spirituality of the Vedantic religion on the beliefs of those who, sons of the soil, are not of those races called Aryan, and to whom it is an outside influence from higher race. But mention may be made of the Lingayets (of Bellary and thereabouts), a singular community with whom religion, though somewhat phallic is certainly a power which works for good conduct. They are Saivites in creed.

and feeling which are very wide apart. But the connection between them is not always obvious, especially to those who accept revelation in religion. What, for instance, is the connection between the offering of a wax leg by one, and the prayers, purely ethical and spiritual, which may be uttered by another? How is it that the one is associated with the other? Why make an offering at all?

In South India the past and present in religions are more fully mingled than in Europe; mingled or mixed; perhaps not combined, for it is doubtful whether the elements become metamorphosed into a compound which is neither. There is to be found a low religion—fearsome, diabolical, bloody—which influences conduct, but not morality, for good at any rate; and within the same area exists also a religion exalted in its spirituality, profound in its subtle philosophy, whose apex is so high that few care to look for it—the religion of the eternal Vedas, which has deep moral influence. The mixture of these is modern Hinduism, the Hinduism of the temples, the Hinduism of common observation; a mixture of that which has no connection with morality and of that which has; and elastic, comprehensive religion of gods whose duties offer no beautiful example for life. The casual observer of this living religion sees none of the exaltedness of the Vedantic ideas in the spectacle of an idol shown to the people in chains, because he is in debt; or of an idol representing Maha Vishnu, the supreme and omnipresent deity, under a certain incarnation of course, having an affair of gallantry with a dancing girl, giving her a ring, trying to appease the wrath of his wife, the angry goddess, and so on. But he would be wrong if he said the exalted, the spiritual, idea did not exist in the country.

The Vedantic, an imported religion, has but little force in South India, where the Brahmins are but three or four per cent. of the people, whose speech is of the Dravidian, and not of the Aryan, basis. It is the lower cult, as it may be aptly called, which has full sway. But between the higher and the lower is a great variety of mixtures of belief. The higher has influenced the lower, and *vice versa*. Hence the strange conglomeration we see.

The most primitive forms of belief are to be found among the denizens of the forests, as well as among the representatives of the earlier races in the plains. Of the former the Khonds are, perhaps, the best known (though by no means accurately) from the books. Their human sacrificing days are over, this rite having been forcibly repressed, but their desire to perpetuate the horrible rite is nevertheless as strong as ever. I have heard them beg to be allowed to proceed with it. The deity

must now put up with a buffalo, in the place of a man. And, when about to sacrifice, the Khonds never fail to remind her that the substitution is no idea of theirs; the fault is with "the Sircar" (the Government), and she should vent her anger, if she has any, on the Sircar, and not on them.

Space will not admit of it here; but it would not be very difficult to show, with reasonable conviction, that this human sacrifice ceremony of the Khonds is the earlier form of the common village festival—of the village goddess—of the plains of South India. The village festival is a festival of blood. A particular buffalo, which has been *devoted* to the goddess for years past, is solemnly sacrificed before her rude and ugly image; its head is placed on the ground before her, the right fore-leg in its mouth, a lamp and the fat of its stomach on its head. She is satisfied with this representation of submission, which could, indeed, hardly go further. The bull represents her husband! Its blood, mingled with grain, is scattered wide. A black lamb is bitten to death—its throat torn open with his teeth, and the blood drunk—by a man who represents the sanguinary deity. People dress in garments of leaves; pay their vows to the goddess, and so on. It is a Saturnalian affair. What I would note here, is that, during the festival, numberless vows are fulfilled for favours received. The goddess cannot be sated by blood. She wallows in it, and almost every vow involves the sacrifice of some animal, a goat, perhaps a buffalo. The heads of goats and sheep (buffaloes too) are offered by many thousands in fulfilment of vows in Southern India, every year. The sanguinary goddess to whom these vows are paid, is feared much; for, she not only chastens, but kills. Worshipped, she is not in the true sense. It is a cult of fear; and the goddess is addressed only through dread of her anger. Vows are made to her in this manner: solemn affirmation, expressed in word or thought, that a goat will be sacrificed if she removes a certain manifestation of her anger—illness, or plague, to man or beast. She is not asked to confer a blessing. The less people have to do with her, the better; and she is approached only under compulsion. The vow in this case appears to be in its honest form. It is a promise of a *quid pro quo*, and the principle of "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" is observed.

But there are other village goddesses, less sanguinary, who will confer favours through vows; who will make mothers of barren women and gratify many a wish. But votaries must be always on the *qui vive*, for the goddess's anger is easily aroused.

Again, there are some few goddesses of this cult—apotheosized women—whose power is limited, and whose anger is

trifling, causing a slight head-ache or disturbing the internal economy of infants, perhaps. But such easy anger is removed by very simple offerings, and the goddess occupies herself with something else. She does not count for much, and is no protector against the bloody ones.

Then, again, in higher gradation, we have the grave, or it may be the shrine (at the grave), or the temple, of the ascetic in whom some manifestation of the omnipresent deity was observed, and who demanded a temple, and worship when he went behind the veil. He belongs more to the higher Hinduism, and he gives favours only; but he has no power to make himself obnoxious, and, indeed, he is not inclined to be so. His prosperity as a god is in proportion to the amount of benefits which can be got out of him by means of vows.

In the large temples of the Hindu gods, under their interminable incarnations and manifestations, all kinds of favours are obtained through vows; but not for nothing. It is no affair of a pure heart. It is still a *quid pro quo*. Nevertheless, there is an accompaniment of prayer and thankfulness for the god's favour. The god will confer benefits; he is a god essentially good, from whom emanates nothing but good.

Low as it is as a form of religion, the existing lower cult of South India is not the most primitive which may be found, even in the plains. Legions of evil spirits, altogether fiendish, receive much attention in the operations of devil-dancing, and in other modes of obsession and exorcism. These beings rank below the bloody goddesses.

The Tinnevely District is, perhaps, the best field for observation of these rites, which are, one may say, at the very bottom of the lower cult; but they may be seen everywhere.

It is difficult for Europeans to realize how it is that Hindus are so ready to set up gods. At the bottom of their minds is ancestor worship* and worship of the deified man. And this falls in with the abstruse theories of Brahminism, according to which one abstract spirit pervades the universe, and signs or manifestations of this are apparent to man *through* man. Any man of any creed may be a manifestation of this spirit, of which our word God does not convey the full meaning.

For the benefit of those to whom it is unknown, it may be well to try and sketch the history of the vow, as a means to obtain assistance by a superhuman hand, from the very beginning; so we will begin by considering those races whose gods are more or less removed ancestral spirits. To these folk deification, or a personality, in the powers of nature is unknown. They have no ideas of a beneficent deity; that is, of a deity who will confer benefits only. Gods they have, who will, if properly appeased,

* Even the Brahmins worship their ancestors every day.

remove the signs of their displeasure and allow things to follow their natural course. All misfortunes are attributed to interruption of this course by malignant spirits who must be pleased first—fed with blood, as a rule. But no good spirit guides it.

I have not been able to discover anything of the nature of the vow proper among these folk where quite outside the pale of Hinduism. Their gods are unwearingly mischievous, and not sufficiently interested in mankind to answer a request. The only way of dealing with them is to divert their anger—pass it on elsewhere ; get rid of it somehow. We see expression of the vow in its simplest form among those whose intellect is still in childhood and who are on the outer fringe of Hinduism—the Sourahs on the hills about Mahendragiri, where they are much mixed with the hill Uriyas. The elements of the vow are in the religion of the hill peoples, and a very slight stimulus gives the necessary growth. The Sourahs, I may say, appear to be identical with the races of the Chin Hills, and Mongolian in origin. The Uriyas are (as called) Aryans. The vow may be an influence of Hinduism ; equally likely it may be autochthonous.

We therefore find among the hill folk the anterior forms of the village festival, that festival which throws the most light on what may be called the earlier religion of Southern India. And, though we discover among them no conception of the vow as a means of obtaining divine favour—even the kind of favour which is but the taking away of some mark of displeasure, fever, or the like,—we see among them something very near it indeed, and out of which it seems to have grown.

Everywhere outside the forest-clad hills, the vow is in full swing. Southern India is the land of vows. There is no desire for healing or obtaining, which is not made the subject of a vow.*

Dotted all over as the country is with hospitals and dispensaries which are free to all, only a small section of the people make use of them for putting off the ills to which the flesh is heir. The efficacy of medical treatment on Western principles, though demonstrated often enough, has left belief in the vow to a supernatural power as strong as ever. And the conditions of the country, with its strange agglomeration of races, are such that we are able to see the vow used as an engine to obtain fulfilment of desires by peoples who might be placed in a regular series of intellectual and religious development, from very low ideas to very high. It is still by far the most potent means by which to obtain cure of any disease, as it is for the blessing of offspring. It is the *dernier ressort* when all medicine

* The desire to injure another comes within quite another category ; it belongs to magic, sorcery, witchcraft.

has failed, even in the case of those who are the latest products of our Universities. It is to fulfil vows that the numberless festivals exist throughout the country. In Europe it is usual to go to Church to pray, or to pretend to pray. In India, temples are visited to fulfil vows. Not that every visit to a temple is made under a vow; but visits which are not, are exceptional.* It is not easy to discriminate. Vows are not always expressed outside thought, and vow-like obligations may easily become resolved into plain duty. There is little of religious feeling in the vow in its earliest stage—as when a man promises a feast of blood to a goddess if she will but cease to trouble his child with some wasting disease. But, as the form of religion becomes higher, so does that of the vow. More and more it becomes a prayer; and it eventually becomes a token of devotion, a thanksgiving.

The main thing about vows is that they involve a certain amount of faith, and that they are fulfilled to the letter by people who, in their ordinary relations of life, have no respect whatever for truth or promises. Little girls are vowed over to—well, not the goddess Lubricity, but—to a deity under whom they play their music to no vestal measure.† Their children are as honourable as any in their caste; and they, or their children to any generation, may perform the obsequies of their parents, for whose benefit, indeed, they are vowed over to the deity. There is no other known instance of females being able to do this in any part of the world. Pilgrimages, under all kinds of discomfort, with an offering (an offering may be anything) to be given up at the goal, may be involved in the vow. A very curious one is a vow to take a child to a certain temple and there cut its hair, accompanied with certain offerings, if it is cured of some sickness. The forms of vows are endless. Only this morning, as I write, there are close by, in course of construction, a dozen arrangements representing huge horses, certain families having vowed, long ago, to present them to the god, “for play in the temple yard,” during a certain festival every year, for some blessing conferred.

The vow was made in the dim past, and the curious offerings are now given as a matter of custom.

Making an offering symbolic of a want seems to be correlated in idea with that part of magic which deals in destruction of an enemy by making an effigy of him and, in some weird, unholy manner, destroying it. It does not appear, from the

* This applies to the rural villages, the bulk of the population. In some parts, notably in Malabar, temples are visited daily, regularly.

† As the earliest form of vow seems to be an offering of something specially pleasing to the goddess—blood—in consideration of some favour, so now do we see, sometimes, vows of gifts of what the goddess is thought to value most—bangles and other articles of feminine adornment.

evidence before us in South India, that, when vows were first made by man, they took the form of promise of an offering symbolizing the want. That came later.

Certain goddesses of the lower cult, or just on the border of it, have established a reputation for granting favours of certain kinds. In India, it should be said, "the appetency for maternity" is accentuated by the haunting thought of the unpleasant consequences of childlessness—becoming an abandoned ghost, to say nothing of the material wretchedness which is the invariable companion of sterility. Thus, a deity who will not help to increase the population is of small account. The apotheosised man (or woman) may be called on to do this before his grave is green. This function is, therefore, usually combined with something else; perhaps the healing of diseased cattle. At the temple of a goddess who had a great local reputation in this sort, numbers of little cradles, perhaps with a rude doll-like figure of an infant inside, also the dolls without the cradles, the offerings of happy mothers who had vowed to give them, with the usual accompaniment of small coin, a light, camphor, and other accessories for pooja, if blessed with off spring.* Painted mud figures of animals also adorned the temple. Vows for maternity to a particular goddess, the mythic mother of the five Pândwas by as many fathers, sometimes take this form.

Not only in these, but in almost all the Hindu temples, there may be seen offerings of objects—hands, feet, eyes, infants, things relating to commercial or agricultural success—; and these are made of gold, or silver, or some brass metal, according to the means of the votary and the pressure of his want. It may be a minute model of a hand; it may be merely the impression of the fingers on a plate of gold; and so on.

The custom of making a vow to give over a certain object, which is a material representation of the desire to be obtained, is therefore common throughout southern India; among those whose religious ideas are concomitant with savageism, and among those who are dominated throughout life in every detail by a spiritual religion, beset though it is with abstruse ceremonial.

The mistake so commonly made about Southern India is that what is observed in ceremonial and conduct as the religion of those called commonly Hindus, is a degraded form of the Vedantic religion, the cult of the Aryan races who pressed into India from the North. It would be sad indeed if the Hinduism under our eyes were a debased form of this. There is no evidence to support the hypothesis that it is. On the other hand, modern research gives authority to the assumption that the lower cult, which is really the cult of the great mass of the

* Poojah is generally worship, but not always. It is ceremonial, not necessarily associated with prayer.

people, represents the earlier religion ; it is what remains of it, and it shows no sign of disappearance. The Brahmin was interposed by the Aryan races, and aided it to rise, so that, instead of retrogression and degradation in religious beliefs in Southern India, there has been progression and elevation. Whether they can rise still higher in the absence of other stimulus is, of course, another matter. Were it true that the Hinduism of to-day in Southern India is a degraded Brahminism, it would not be possible to trace there the use of the vow for the obtaining of human wishes, from the beginning, when it has very little indeed of religious sentiment attached to it, to its becoming almost, if not quite, analogous with prayer in its highest sense. The vow would be a meaningless vagary of man's mind. We could not, seek as we might, find a solution of the question why Hindus make vows, as they do perpetually. There would be no rational explanation for their custom of vowing to give certain offerings. But if we accept the converse hypothesis, of which an attempt has been made to give an outline, we can find an explanation the reasonableness of which few will dispute as it lies in the process of natural development.

We have, so far, considered Southern India as a whole ; but, as that portion of it in which is the shrine to which we shall come presently, presents certain peculiarities, it will be well to make some allusion to these. It is the narrow strip between the Western Ghâts and the sea, near the southern extremity of the Peninsula. The influence of our administration, which has transformed so much of the social phenomena into new forms and phases, has been felt less—*i. e.* it has not affected custom so much—there, than elsewhere ; especially in the native princedoms of Cochin and Travancore. One observes there more consistency in the customs which are elsewhere, in great measure, undergoing change. Certain of the aboriginal races are still in real, though not in legal, slavery. The exact distance within which a man of one caste may approach a man of another and higher caste is still observed.

There the Brahmins retain entirely the sacerdotal privileges which those of other parts of the southern Presidency have to a great extent abrogated for clerkships and administrative posts under Government, and they form the most exalted section of the caste. The custom of inheritance in the female line, a sister's son, and not a man's own son, inheriting property and title, obtains undisturbed. It is not a pastoral country ; subjects for sacrificial purposes might be said to be non-existent, so sacrifice of animals is not common. The gods are content with* cocoanuts, fruits and flowers, and the blood of animals is not demanded.

* Breaking cocoanuts before a god appears to symbolize the human sacrifice ; through the likeness of the coconut to the human head, perhaps.

If one part of the Peninsula can be styled more conservative than another, it is this. It did not suffer keenly in the Mahomedan invasion, and things have taken the tenour of their way very evenly. There have been no very abrupt changes, such as affect deeply the institutions of a people.

It is into this part of India that Christianity was introduced very early in our era. The debateable question of date I will not attempt to settle. But it may be said, without perturbing anyone, that Christianity in the Native State of Cochin is at least as old as, and probably much older than, Christianity in England. It will be remembered that Albuquerque was surprised to find Nestorian (Syrian) Christians in this part nearly 400 years ago. It was brought from Western Asia, and those who profess the creed and who now number one-fourth of the population of the Cochin State, are for the most part members of the Syrian, and of the Romo-Syrian Churches. There are also Latin Churches and Protestant Churches. The history of the Syrian Church in India has yet to be written; the subject is full of interest, and he who would unravel the history of the Christian Churches would find now, in the Cochin State, existing examples of the Syrian Churches in very much the same condition as they were in when the era was yet young; probably just as they were then in Syria. The Patriarch of Antioch visited the State as late as 1875. The effect of the Brahmie religion has been more pronounced on the South-West coast of India than elsewhere in the Southern Presidency. The earlier and lower races are there feebler, and their religious practices have not to the same extent influenced the higher as they have elsewhere. The lower cult is more subdued; one sees less of it; but nowhere are witchcraft and snake-worship stronger.

It would seem that the pioneers of the Syrian Church won over converts from the highest castes; and it is now common knowledge that a large number of the Syrian Christians are descended from the exclusive Nambudiri Brahmins, the highest in the land, as well as from the high caste Nagars. The people themselves admit this, and observation supports the inference that their traditions on the point are true. Madonna-like faces may be seen among the women. Indeed, their nasal index could never have come from the lower races.

One is reminded of Southern Europe at every turn. Churches with the Venetian façade and the Campanile, sometimes detached, and crosses, of the Syrian and the Latin form, are to be seen everywhere. These Churches contain vestments and curious Syriac missals hundreds of years old.

One cannot help feeling that here Christianity is a tree of no spurious growth. It seems to be at home. By a curious com-

bination of circumstances, the Rajah of the Cochin State is the hereditary chief of the Christians, as he is of the Nagars !

In this part of the Peninsula the vow has as much vogue as it has elsewhere ; and, in the curious blending of Christianity with Hinduism in Cochin, it is in full force in the former religion, as it is in the latter. An illustration of this blending of two religions, showing how forms of Hinduism live through Christianity, may not be amiss. It is well known that the marriage token of the Hindu woman is the " tali," usually a small, flat, or slightly hollowed, disc of gold, about the size of a sixpenny piece. In Cochin the shape of the tali seems to represent the shape of the conch shell, the national symbol of the State, which appears so often throughout Hindu ornamentation. It is worn on a string round the neck, in front. Now the Syrian Christian women wear their tali ; but on this purely Hindu token of marriage there is marked the Cross. As among the Hindus, it is tied during a ceremony which corresponds to betrothal, and never after removed. The ring is used in the ordinary marriage ceremony ; but it may be removed now and then at pleasure. Not so the tali. It is not surprising when we find the vow existing also as a part of the living religion.

It would be easy to show how the vow continues through Mahomedanism, in the Mopla community, in this part of the country, opposed though it is to the tenets of their religion. The lion cannot change its skin, nor the leopard its spots ; nor can races, by any demi-volt of the mind, adopt a new religion and not tinge it with the old beliefs, the old feelings, the old superstitions, everything that goes towards making up the individual. But they can adapt it, and it is this adapted form of the Christian religion which we see in Cochin.

We are now prepared to come to the shrine, which is at a little place called Pallûrti, just beyond the marches of British Cochin within the Native States (Fushkit B. C. a town of some importance, although its area is but one square mile). One sees by the roadside hawkers of sweetmeats and other confections, whose presence suggests a stream of visitors to the neighbourhood. Passing through an entrance in the bamboo, trellis-like wall, one sees under the everlasting cocoanut trees a miniature chapel, constructed, after the manner of the country, with bamboos and leaves, which would afford standing room for about a dozen people. Hanging on the East wall, within the little sanctuary, is a common coloured print, oleograph or some such process, of a well-known Virgin and Child by Raffael. It is set in a tinsel gilt frame ; around it are rude and gaudy representations by some crude artists of heavenly beings ; there is much tinsel and variegated colour ornamentation, and lights, and in front of it hangs a brass lamp (lighted always, of course) of the

same pattern as that of the Hindu temples. It is this picture which attracts the people ; and, as its history is a strange one, it will be given as told by the individual who knows it best.

Musa, Lada, Abbi, Aru, Numa, are five brothers, Mahomedans from Cutch, traders in Cochin. About seven years ago Numa went to Bombay ; and, while, he was there, a relative gave him the picture as a present (a wedding present, some say). He hung it on the wall of the room in which he slept. On two or three nights following he had strange dreams. He dreamt that the Virgin, called "Albudamada," or the Wonderful Mother, stood by his bed. This disturbed his mind ; and he locked up the picture, thinking that by so doing he would put a stop to his perturbing dreams. He left Bombay, and turned to Cochin, but there, too, he had the same dreams, and also fancied that he was thrown out of bed. He could not account for these dreams ; and, as he was much upset by them, he confided in a friend, Abbu Sait by name, and asked his advice as to what he should do to obtain peace of mind. He was advised to have the picture brought to Cochin ; so he sent for it. Meanwhile the dreams continued. The Albudamada said to him ; "Why did you leave behind the present you were given ? Was it becoming on your part to lock us up so far away from you ?" (Us, because there are three persons in the picture, the Virgin, the child, and another). When the picture was brought to Cochin, he dreamt that the Albudamada came to him again and said : "Is this the place where we are to remain ?" and this dream was repeated three or four times. But he took no heed, and at length, dreaming that he was thrown violently out of bed, he again consulted his friend. Abbu Sait took the picture to his own house, in order to see if it had any effect on him. The next morning he returned it. What happened to him is a secret ; but it seems that the effect of the experiment on himself was a surprise to his system, and he solemnly returned it to his friend Numa without delay. There was a servant of Numa, Patros by name, a Romo Syrian ; and to him the picture was given. Numa would no more of it. The night after it came into Patros' possession, a fellow servant, Thomèn by name, also a Romo-Syrian Christian, dreamt that the wonderful mother stood by him and asked why she was not provided with a lamp ? Immediately he arose and went and told Patros, and gave him half an anna wherewith to buy lamp oil. A lamp was placed in front of the picture. As soon as this was done, Patros received a subtle impression that she of the picture was prepared to grant favours, and ever since that day, six years and ten months ago, in the Malayalam month Meenam there have been received in offerings between five and six hundred rupees every month. Patros kept the picture and reaped the offerings for three years,

when it was handed over to the Church. The little shrine in which it now is, is erected in Numa's land. Hard by is a well-built school house filled with children, which has been built out of the offerings, and to the east of the shrine there is in course of construction a church, within which the picture will before long find its home.

Many stories of the power of the picture are current. A man lost a valuable bull. He vowed that, if he found it, he would present a little silver bull to "the wonderful mother." The next morning his bull was standing at his door. He presented a little silver bull. A fisherman who had lost his nets, vowed to give a little gold net if his nets were found. They were found, and he presented a little golden net. Silvern and golden models and representations of hands, feet, noses, eyes, breasts, infants, are there in plenty, the last especially. The votive offerings, which are sometimes of copper or brass, take strange forms, which require some explanation, readily given by the courteous (native) priest.

There are fishes, prawns, rice, plants, cocoanut trees, cows, all sorts of things. A little silver model of a bridge was given by a contractor, who vowed, when he found his foundations were shaky, to give it if his work should pass muster, and so on.

The power of the picture is such, that the votaries are not confined to the Christian community. There are among them many Hindus and Mahomedans. The former give sometimes offerings of the grotesque Hindu god form, such as are seen only in Hindu shrines. It is not surprising to find among the votaries, Hindus, who are ever ready to recognize manifestations of the Omnipresent deity.

It is not only benevolences, small favours, that are gotten through the picture; large ones, miracles, too. A boy lying at the point of death to whom had been administered all the sacraments for the dying, was restored to health in the space of six minutes by the simple process of rubbing on his body a little of the oil taken from the lamp hanging in front of the picture!

The priest has recorded actually twenty-six miracles wrought through the picture. The last is a strange one. A woman buried alive her infant, born out of wedlock, about twenty yards in front of the shrine. After twenty-four hours a pariah dog scratched it up *à la* Jackal. The child cried! Then the woman became a Magdalen, the child was baptized, and its surreptitious father was glad to support it. The authorities have not recorded the sequence of events exactly in this manner; but that is a detail; faith in the picture is none the less.

Visiting the shrine and examining the offerings, one is reminded of Heine's "Pilgrimage to Kevlaar," where

" Who a wax hand bringeth,
 His hand is healed that day,
 And who a wax foot bringeth,
 With sound feet walks, away,'

and where the youth, being done to death slowly by the possessing demon love, presents a waxen heart and asks for healing of his pain.

But there is a great difference between the two shrines. At Kevlaar the offering is an adjunct of the prayer. It is offered in faith, in trust, in love, when the request is made. It is in no sense a reward, or even a thank-offering for the benefit received. It is merely a survival representing something, the original significance of which has been left in the limbo of the past.

Not so at the other shrine. Imbued as the Romo-Syrian Christianity is with Hinduism, it is near it in essence in respect of vows. So the vow is made, and the offering is given, only after the benefit has been received. The man who vowed to give the silver bull if the animal was restored, would not have given it had he not recovered his property. He was not bound to give it until he found his bull.

And yet it is not altogether a business-like transaction. There is some faith, some trust, some belief; but how much, is not evident. One thing is clear; a man would never venture to vow a waxen ear to obtain cure for the ear-ache if he were in a position to afford a golden one. He would not have faith that the goddess (the Virgin to him a goddess) would have "favour on him" unless he presented her with something the value of which was in some degree governed by the idea of equivalency. In fact, he must have faith, and he has not yet reached that state of development when man believes that prayer, as we understand the word, will be answered. He does not feel that any divine favour can be his unless he can conjure it to him by making a solemn promise to give when he gets.

This feeling is, however, further removed from savageism than that which is without faith altogether and only hopes to succeed by alluring the troublesome Goddess who is causing the trouble, possessing the sick person, by giving her a feast of blood. Is it too much to say that there are signs of its becoming still further removed? It is very rare, but I have known recently of a man finding himself in great straits making an offering to the Church before the crisis of his fate. For, is it not the sense of helplessness which seems to compel man to cry in his need to the Power which is beyond his knowledge and whose sport he feels himself to be? It is not here a cry and nothing but a cry; it is a cry accompanied by a substantial offering.

Mr. Andrew Laing writes on page 340 of this "Myth, Ritual

and Religion": "Yet even the lowest savages in hours of awe and of need lift their hands and their thoughts to their father and to ours". He draws his inference—that even the lowest savage has conception of a great and good deity, who will help him in his need, or, at least, to whom he feels he must cry in his need and ask for help—from the works of travellers throughout the world. It is with much diffidence that I state my disagreement with so eminent an authority as Mr. Laing. It is quite certain that many of the aboriginal races of Southern India, known to me not as a fly-away globe-trotter, but as a resident, have no idea whatever of a great and good deity who made the world and all therein and to whom they will cry in their need. They will not do anything of the kind. They may ask their dead grandfather, and promise him things he loves!

And if I am wrong, what is all this which seems to indicate so plainly the evolution of the vow as a means to obtain the aid of some higher power?

There are those who use the vow in its relatively higher form; who will cry to "their father and to ours;" but they are far removed from the lowest savages.

Those who use the vow in its crudest form, when it has scarcely yet become a vow, will not raise this cry; for they have no conception of the higher helping power willing to save; and it is because they have not, that they do the best they can—and hence the vow.

I do not see how the vow could possibly have come out of religious ideas in which, however hidden and perhaps unknown to their possessors, lay the conception of a Supreme Deity.

F. FAWCETT.

ART. XII.—SERIOUS STATE OF THE FRENCH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.

THE state of depression prevailing in the French Possessions in India is assuredly a matter deserving of attention. For some years their trade and revenue have been steadily deteriorating, and matters have now apparently reached a more or less critical stage. At the recent elections which were held for the return of a Representative in the new Chamber of French Deputies, M. Louis Henriques was chosen by a large majority, and it was understood that he was to exert himself to the utmost in order to bring the present serious plight of Pondicherry in particular to the notice of the French Legislature. M. Louis Henriques is a journalist, and is thoroughly posted in the needs of the Oriental Colonies of France; but it is extremely doubtful whether he will be able to procure any substantial advantages for his Indian constituents.

The development and decay of the French settlements in India afford an interesting and instructive lesson, and a striking illustration of the indifferent Colonial capacity of the French people. The first occasion on which the French appeared on the scene in India was in 1603, when a number of merchants of Rouen fitted out an expedition to this country with a view to establishing direct trade with it. This venture, however, failed in its early stages. In 1642 the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* was organised by Cardinal Richelieu, but it also met with no success. In 1664, however, it was reconstituted by Colbert and granted a fifty years' monopoly of Indian trade; and in 1668 its President, Caron, established an Agency at Surat. But this locality was found to be unsuitable for a central Agency; and so Trincomalee in Ceylon was seized from the Dutch, who, however, forcibly regained possession of it shortly afterwards. Caron, the Company's President, in 1672 seized the small town of S. Thomé, now a suburb of Madras, and was taking measures for establishing a Head-Quarters Agency there, when he had to restore it to the Dutch in 1674. The French Company was now brought to the verge of ruin; but its fortunes were at this stage retrieved by one of its employees, François Martin by name. Gathering together a band of about sixty Frenchmen from the ruined settlements, Martin established himself in 1683 at Pondicherry, which was then a small village, and which was purchased from the Vijayapur Raja. Pondicherry was now fortified, and a brisk trade sprang up rapidly in connection with it. In 1693 this incipient pro-

perity was rudely interrupted by the Dutch seizing Pondicherry ; but in 1697 the place was restored to the French by the Treaty of Ryswick.

A brighter era of prosperity now dawned on Pondicherry, which became the capital of the French possessions in India, and François Martin was appointed their Governor-General. French territory was extended considerably, particularly in South India ; Chandernagore in Bengal was acquired from the Delhi Emperor in 1688 ; Mahé on the Malabar Coast was obtained from a local Chieftain about 1725 ; and in 1739 Karikal on the Coromandel Coast, South of Pondicherry, was taken from the Tanjore Raja ; while Yanaon, a small settlement in the Northern Circars, was captured in 1750 and formally ceded to the French in 1752. By this time the French possessions extended over 600 miles of sea-board and yielded an annual revenue of 80 lakhs of rupees.

Unfortunately continuous wars between France and England reduced the French possessions in India to their present insignificant dimensions. In 1741 war broke out between the two countries, and in 1746 the French captured Fort St. George, which was ransomed for 40 lakhs of rupees. The English, by way of reprisal, attacked Pondicherry in 1748, but were driven off by Dupleix after a brilliant defence of forty-two days. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle now supervened and restored peace ; but war soon broke out again ; the French suffered several reverses, and in 1753 Dupleix was recalled. In January, 1761, Pondicherry capitulated to the British, who demolished the fortifications, as well as a considerable portion of the town. In 1763 peace between England and France restored Pondicherry to the French Company ; but the possessions of the latter were now much curtailed. 1769 the French Company's monopoly was abolished, and there was a brisk revival of trade in Pondicherry. In 1778 it again fell into the English Company's hands, but was restored in 1783, by the Treaty of Versailles. In 1793 Pondicherry was once more seized by the English, to be restored to the French by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. In 1803 the prolonged wars with Napoleon commenced, and throughout their duration all the Indian possessions of the French were seized and retained by the British. On the final overthrow of Napoleon, Pondicherry and certain other settlements with factories were restored ; but these territories were reduced to their present narrow limits. Thus on the 4th December 1816 Pondicherry and Chandernagore were restored ; on the 14th January 1817, Karikal was given back ; on the 22nd February 1817, Mahé, and on the 12th April 1817, Yanaon.

After the rendition of these settlements had been agreed

on, a Convention was signed between Great Britain and France, specifying the terms on which they were to be held by the latter and, among other things the supply of salt, opium and saltpetre was regulated. In the preamble of this Convention it is stated :—" The trade in salt and opium throughout the British sovereignty in India having been subject to certain regulations and restrictions, which, unless due provision be made, might occasion differences between the subjects and agents of His Britannic Majesty and those of His Most Christian Majesty [the restored Bourbon King of France], their said Majesties have thought proper to conclude a special covenant for the purpose of preventing such differences and removing every cause of dispute between their respective subjects in that part of the world." According to the 1st Article of the Agreement, " His most Christian Majesty engages to let at farm to the British Government in India, the exclusive right to purchase at a fair and equitable price, to be regulated by that which the said Government shall have paid for salt in the districts in the vicinity of the French possessions on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa respectively, the salt that may be manufactured in the said possessions, subject to a reservation of the quantity that the Agents of His Most Christian Majesty shall deem requisite for the domestic use and consumption of the inhabitants thereof." In consideration of this concession, " His Britannic Majesty engages that the sum of four lakhs of sicca rupees shall be paid annually to the Agents of His Most Christian Majesty duly authorised, by quarterly instalments to be paid at Calcutta or at Madras, ten days after the bills that may be drawn for the same by the said Agents shall have been presented by the Government of either of those Presidencies ; it being agreed that the rent above stipulated shall commence from the 1st October 1814."

It will thus be seen that the right to purchase the salt manufactured in the French Indian Settlements was farmed for four lakhs of rupees a year to the British Government, a certain quantity being reserved by the French authorities for the domestic requirements of the local population.

This arrangement resulted in a considerable amount of smuggling of salt and consequent loss of revenue to the British Government ; so another Convention was concluded in 1818 between the Madras Government and the Administrator of the French Settlements in India. According to this agreement it was arranged that the manufacture of salt in the French possessions in India should entirely cease, and that 4,000 star pagodas should be paid annually to the French Government as indemnity to the proprietors of the salt pans. Article I of

this Convention prescribes that the manufacture of salt shall cease throughout the whole of the French establishments in India during the continuance of the Honourable Company's present charter ;" and Article III declares that "the Madras Government engages to pay to the French Government, as an indemnification to the proprietors of the salt pans, the sum of four thousand star pagodas per annum.

The disposal of this sum of four lakhs of rupees above mentioned constitutes one of the main grievances of the people of Pondicherry. The money is taken over by the Home French Government and is appropriated by the General Colonial Budget ; whereas the Pondicherry people maintain that, as it was awarded as compensation for the loss sustained by the French Possessions in India for the abolition of their salt manufacturing industry, the money should be spent locally. Hitherto all representations on the subject have proved unavailing ; and the new Deputy for French India is to take up the case and bring it to the notice of the Chamber of Deputies.

The trade of Pondicherry has, for some time past, been steadily declining, and last year the value of the exports amounted to only 35 lakhs of rupees, whereas ten years ago it used to come up to over 130 lakhs annually. Too much reliance, it appears, was placed on the local ground nut trade, which has failed, owing to much reduced production, as well as to the diversion to neighbouring British ports of the ground nut produce through the operation of the Indian Tariff Act. The greater portion of the ground nuts are grown in British territory, and thus the Tariff Act could easily cause the diversion. With the depression of trade, the revenues have fallen terribly ; and serious retrenchments are now proposed, including the disbandment or reduction of the Pondicherry Sepoy Battalion. The Governor of Pondicherry himself is in despair about the prospects of the Colony, and it is difficult to see how it can be extricated from its present position without substantial aid from France. Karikal is doing a little business ; but the other possessions are for practical purposes absolutely without trade. In fact, the once extensive and prosperous Indian possessions of France have been reduced to a few unimportant stations, over whose portals the word "Ichabod" is clearly engraved.

INTERITUS UNUS.

Ecc. III, 19.

The strongest life—so sages teach—is mortal,
The man, the beast, await one common call ;
And, at the grave's inexorable portal,
One universal fate embraces all . . .
Yet the soul flutters at the weary stanchions
By which, in life, she deems herself oppressed
Ah ! In her father's house are many mansions ;
May she not flee to one of them, and rest ?

Here, she had passing joy, abiding sorrow,
Clouds on the sky and pitfalls in the way ;
What wonder if she dreams of radiant morrow
To follow on the darkness of to-day ?
Eternal Dupe ! Yet have compassion on her,
If time have tamed or knowledge made thee sage,
Leave her the hope whose very fraud was honour,
And visions that made beautiful her cage.

H. G. K.

LAST WORDS.

See me to the hither brink, more I will not ask ;
Whether then I swim or sink, you have done your task ;
Tarry there a little yet while your strength endures ;
Live ; but do not quite forget that I once was yours.

H. G. K.

TO THE AUTHOR OF "THE GOD IN THE CAR."

There are two ways of excellence in art ;
One, where the artist mingles all he knows
To make mere patterns of Life's trivial shows,
The bower, the hall, the ship, the camp, the mart,
These may delight, but never mend, the heart ;
Whatever be the form, the theme is prose,
The end a mere diversion ; be of those
Who take—like her of old—the better part :

Show us the inward truth of visible things,
Neglecting vulgar wonder and lewd mirth,
And tame contentment with a temporal lot :
Let Pegasus leave the plough, and spread his wings
For flight as distant as to Heaven from earth,
Or magic Shakespeare from " Magician " Scott.

H. G. K.

THE QUARTER.

FOR Englishmen the past Quarter will be identified in history chiefly with the incident of Fashoda. Divested of details which need not be recounted here, the situation that had arisen there may be aptly described, with slight verbal alteration, in the words of an article on the subject which appeared in the *Spectator* of the 29th October. Referring to the despatches which had been published a few days previously, the writer says : They show, to begin with, that Major Marchand was sent three years ago to advance the French flag towards the Upper Nile ; that the explorer, a man of ability as well as energy and devotion, understood these to be his orders ; and that he " welcomed " Sir Herbert Kitchener to Fashoda as the guest of France, which had " occupied," that is, annexed, the valley of the Bahr-el-Ghazel. This invitation to General Kitchener was not prompted by audacity, but was intended as a deliberate assertion that France possessed the valley and its outlet into the Nile, Fashoda. When Sir Herbert arrived, Major Marchand informed him clearly that, if he removed the French flag, his own duty would require him to die with his few soldiers around it, and he should perform his duty. And, so far as we can understand the despatches, M. de Courcel, the French Ambassador, supported Major Marchand's view. He wanted the claim of France to the Bahr-el-Ghazel, in right of the exploration of the valley as a derelict province of Africa, to be acknowledged by the British Government. That granted, Marchand would be immediately recalled. Lord Salisbury would not grant this demand, and, indeed, could not, for, apart from the difficulty of discussing an intrusion not apologised for or explained, its concession would have destroyed the Anglo-Egyptian position, which is that Egypt never surrendered her territories in the Soudan, or, if she did, it was to the Mahdi, from whom she has reconquered them. Among those territories was the valley of the Bahr-el-Ghazel. To have granted the French claim would also have destroyed the Anglo-Egyptian policy, which is to hold the Nile, from Alexandria to the Lakes, as absolutely essential to the existence of Egypt. Egypt is the Nile ; and the Nile is Egypt. It was simply impossible to give way even one step in the face of such pretensions, and this the more because they were in themselves so unreasonable.

An additional reason—if any were needed—for absolutely rejecting the claim was to be found in the fact, insisted on by Sir E.

Grey, in his speech at Huddersfield, that France, through M. Hanotaux, had admitted the title of Egypt to the Nile, and that Major Marchand's expedition was secretly organised after her Government knew that it would be considered an unfriendly act.

But France, finding herself without an ally, and convinced of the overwhelmingly superior naval force England could bring to bear against her, had no alternative but to withdraw from a position which she was powerless to defend. In his speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Lord Salisbury was able to announce that the French Government had come to the conclusion that Fashoda was of no value to the French Republic and had determined to evacuate it, remarking, at the same time, that they had done what he believed the Government of any other country would have done in the same position.

What course the French Government had adopted regarding the question of the Egyptian sovereignty of the Valley of the Nile, or the French claim of a means of access to that river, understood to have been reserved by Baron-de-Courcel, Lord Salisbury did not say; and he concluded this part of his speech with a warning to his hearers that he did not wish to be understood as saying that all causes of controversy between the two Governments had been removed; on the contrary, the probability was that they would have many discussions in the future, a statement which, unless it referred to the near future, if not to actually pending questions, would possess very little significance.

As a matter of fact, there is good reason, as may be seen from Mr. Chamberlain's recent speech at Wakefield, to think that the question of Egypt's right to the Valley of the Nile is as far from being settled as ever. Nor is there much ground for believing that it is one on which France will yield without obtaining a *quid pro quo*.

While the Fashoda imbroglio was pending, M. Brisson's Government, having been defeated on a vote calling upon it, by way, as is generally understood, of protest against the transfer of the Dreyfus Case to the Court of Cassation, to terminate the "campaign of insult" against the army, resigned, and was succeeded by a Ministry under M. Dupuis, as Premier, with M. Delcassé as Foreign Minister and M. de Freycinet as Minister of War.

As regards the Dreyfus affair, the statement of policy of the new Ministry announced that it bowed to the decision of the Court of Cassation and would aid justice in its task. In other respects, the statement affirms the supremacy of the civil power and the determination of the Ministry to ensure the execution of the decisions of justice, but declares that they will not leave the army exposed to the campaign of insult directed against it.

After referring to the Exhibition of 1900 and the value of the Russian alliance, it goes on to say that the foreign policy of the Ministry will be inspired by the well-understood interests of the country and that they will introduce the Income-tax Bill of their predecessors. On the Fashoda incident Ministers preserved a discreet silence, and declined to fix a day for its discussion.

After protracted discussion over the question of the cession of the Philippines, the treaty of peace between Spain and America was signed on the 10th instant, the terms, which include the cession in question, together with that of the Sulu Islands, for an indemnity of twenty million dollars, being accepted by Spain under protest, and a period of six months being allowed for their ratification.

The final outcome of the recent outrages in Crete is that, as a result of an ultimatum presented to the Sultan by the Powers, the Sultan agreed to the unconditional evacuation of the Island, the Government of which has, at the instance of Russia, been conferred by the Powers on Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner. The Porte subsequently addressed a note to the Powers claiming the maintenance of a small garrison in the Island, the payment of an annual tribute, the administration of law in the Sultan's name, and the right of pardon and investiture of the Governor; while Ismail Pacha, the Governor protested, at the last moment, that he had received no orders from his master regarding the withdrawal of the 2,500 troops then remaining in the Island. Thereupon the Admirals notified to the Governor that on the 4th November they would occupy the public offices, the gates of the town and the forts; that the Turkish troops would not be recognised as forming the garrison of the island, or allowed to bear arms, and that they would take the necessary steps to enforce their decision if his answer were unsatisfactory. The evacuation was completely carried out between the 4th and 6th November, Admiral Noel having hastened its commencement on the former date by compelling the Governor, in the absence of Turkish transports, to embark a portion of his troops on board a British transport at Candia, and the Russian authorities adopting a similar course at Retimo.

Prince George has arrived at Candia and been installed in his office. The Turkish flag is retained.

It may be added that this happy termination of an episode that might easily have led to serious complications was probably much facilitated by the previous withdrawal of Germany from the concert of the Powers, dictated, no doubt, by a disinclination on the part of the Emperor to be associated with steps which he saw to be inevitable, but his participation in which would, he felt, be likely to jeopardise the progress of his *liaison* with the Sultan.

Lord Kitchener, whose return to England has been the occasion of a series of demonstrations of an exceptionally enthusiastic character, has appealed to the nation for subscriptions to raise a fund of £100,000 to found a Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum, an appeal which, it need hardly be said, has met with a prompt and liberal response. The Queen has consented to become the Patron, and the Prince of Wales the Vice-Patron, of the Institution.

The result of the elections in the United States is a reduction of the Republican majority over all parties from 57 to about 11, and over the Democrats alone from 85 to about 20 in the House of Representatives. In considering the significance of this loss of seats, however, it must be remembered that it is altogether an exceptional event for a President to secure a majority at all in the second half of his term of office. At the same time, moreover, President McKinley's doubtful majority in the Senate has been converted into one which is at once solid and trustworthy.

The forecast of the Presidential Message, as telegraphed to this country, says that it urges Congress to define a Colonial policy ; suggests an increase of 100,000 men in the Army, and demands money for strengthening the Navy. The Message further says that the Government cannot discuss the future of Cuba until peace is ratified, and must continue a military government until the island is completely tranquil and a stable government is inaugurated. The President declares that the construction of the Nicaragua Canal with American control, is indispensable. Referring to China, he claims friendly and indiscriminating treatment for American commerce from the new occupants of Chinese ports, and proposes the appointment of a Committee to study the commercial and industrial conditions of China.

Relations with Great Britain, he adds, have continued to be of the friendliest nature, and hopes are especially expressed for a favourable conclusion of the negotiations for improving relations with Canada.

The Message also urges the establishment of regular and frequent steamship communication under the American flag, with the new possessions, including the Phillippines,

No financial or tariff changes are proposed.

The Viceroy Designate, who left England for India on the 15th instant, was entertained at a dinner by the Royal Societies Club on the 7th ultimo, and at a luncheon by the P. and O. Company on the 2nd instant. In replying to the toast of his health, proposed by Sir Clements Markham, on the former occasion, he is reported as having said : His reason for being glad and proud to take up the high office to which he had been

appointed was that to him India had always appeared to be the political pivot and centre of our Imperial system. Ours was before and beyond everything else an Asiatic Empire, and the man who had never been east of Suez did not know what the British Empire was. In India we were doing a work which no other nation had ever attempted to do before. In the heart of that Asian continent lay the true fulcrum of dominion ; there was the touchstone of our national greatness or our failure. He was one of those who thought the eastern trend of empire would increase, and not diminish ; and the time would arrive when Asiatic sympathies and knowledge would not be the hobby of a few individuals, but the interest of the entire nation. Referring to his experiences of travel on the confines of our Indian Empire, Lord Curzon said the secret of proper treatment of Oriental races in general consisted in treating them as if they were men, and of like composition with ourselves. He bore testimony to the capacity and sense of responsibility of our young frontier officers and to the high merits of the native Indian troops. He closed by observing that, though the task he was about to undertake would have much in it that was beyond his powers, he felt that he might confidently rely on the indulgence of his fellow-countrymen.

At the luncheon given by the P. and O. Company he dwelt on the importance of speedy sea communication. He did not share the opinion that India, in the last resort, was only defensible by vast trunk lines ; for he believed that the defence of India depended upon the improvement of the steamer lines, the maintenance of British supremacy in the Mediterranean, and the retention and freedom of the Suez Canal. He prophesied great development of commercial enterprise in India, and believed that capital would flow thither more freely if we could establish stability of exchange—a problem to which any incoming Viceroy should turn his attention.

Lord Curzon said he was amazed at the appeals made in the past year to lend British credit for speculative undertakings in foreign countries with tottering Governments, when the claims of India, rich and undeveloped, were incomparably more imperious. His Lordship dwelt upon the extraordinary recuperative power of Indian trade, and, speaking of Indian railways, said he hoped to see the mileage exceed 25,000 before he quitted the Viceroyalty.

In concluding his speech, the Viceroy-Designate said he saw no cause to despair of India's business or finance, the interests whereof he would do his utmost to further during his term of office, and he rejoiced to have Lord George Hamilton as his co-operator.

If, as we have said, for Englishmen the past Quarter will be

identified in history mainly with the Fashoda incident, it may probably be said with scarcely less truth that for Germany it will be associated with the visit of the Emperor William II. to Constantinople and the Holy Land. Much of the inner meaning of that remarkable event, made more remarkable still by the incidents of which it was the occasion, is wrapped in mystery. It can hardly be that the Emperor proposes to take up the rôle of protector of the Ottoman Empire that has been abandoned by England, it is to be hoped definitively, in deference to the national conscience, though even this is possible. One thing, however, may be regarded as practically certain; and that is that the Emperor has made up his mind that it is rather for the interest of Germany that the Turk should be strengthened, than that he should be weakened. Possibly he may also feel that his own position in Germany will be strengthened by the prestige derived from the emphatic declaration, amid such surroundings, of his guardianship of his compatriots, whether Protestant or Catholic, in the Sultan's dominions. But other consequences, some intended, and some, perhaps, not intended, may be expected to follow from the visit. One of these is that the jealousy and apprehensions of Russia will be profoundly excited, and the breach between her and Germany sensibly widened, by the event, and another, it is to be feared, is that the back of Sultan will be stiffened and his attitude towards the other Powers rendered more defiant.

One effect of events in the Soudan, and, in a lesser degree, in Crete, has been to strengthen immensely the position of the Unionist Party; and, in resigning the leadership of the Opposition, Sir William Harcourt has probably not been wholly uninfluenced by a sense of this change. So far his resignation seems likely rather to accentuate the than diminish the dissensions to which it was ostensibly due. Another effect of the victory at Omdurman, and of the uncompromising attitude of England in the Fashoda business, has been to inspire Germany with a keener sense of the value of British friendship than she had latterly evinced, and many signs, besides the recent agreement, point to a growing *entente* between the two nations.

A fresh complication has arisen in the Far East, in the shape of a demand on the part of France for an extension of the French Settlement at Shanghai, against which the British, American, German and Japanese communities there are stated to have submitted identical protests to their respective Ministers at Peking. In the meantime, a French Naval expedition has been despatched up the Yangtse to Kweichow, though whether merely to exact retribution for the recent outrages on French missionaries, or to put pressure on the Chinese

Government in connexion with the demand in question, is doubtful.

In India the period under review has been comparatively uneventful. The Afridis have peacefully accepted the orders of the Government of India regarding its future relations with them ; and an attempt on the part of the mad Mullah, in Swat, to raise the tribes against the Nawab of Dir has ignominiously collapsed after a certain amount of fighting between his following, which appears never to have been very large, and the Nawab's forces. The Viceroy has made his long-deferred Burma tour, visiting, among other places, Chittagong, Rangoon, Mandalay, Bhamo, Prome, and Moulmein, and returned to Calcutta on the 15th instant. His progress was marked by the usual addresses and replies, but by no sensational incidents.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has also been on tour, and has visited Giridhi, Parasnath, Hazareebagh, Ranchee, Chalbassa and Purulia, and, afterwards Cuttack and Pooree.

At a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held on the 12th November, His Honour made an important statement regarding the business of the Session, which, he said, would be mainly confined to the consideration of the Calcutta Municipal Bill in the Select Committee. Regarding that measure, he remarked that, while his personal opinion was in complete accord with the decision of the Council, which had received the support of the Chamber of Commerce, the British Indian Association and the two leading Mahomedan Associations, they would find, in many points of detail, very valuable and important suggestions in the criticisms that had been submitted during the last few months. Referring to the Memorial adopted by the Meeting at the Town Hall, he added that there were two points in it which were reasonable and to which his Government would give its ready assent. These were that the duty of sanctioning the bye-laws should be given to the Corporation, instead of to the General Committee ; and that the General Committee should not be authorised to exceed the Budget allotment on any project without the express sanction of the Corporation, unless, within reasonable limits, by way of re-appropriation. At the same time, he held out no hope of any change being made in the proposed composition of the General Committee ; and, with reference to the suggestion that its members should be diminished, he said :—

“ It is alleged that it is unscientific and illogical to leave the Corporation unchanged while you materially change your Executive Committee, and that the result is certain to be a constant friction. I am not concerned about the charge that the proposals are illogical and unscientific. The most scientific constitutions have not been the most successful in our know-

ledge. And I have no apprehensions of any injurious friction. At the commencement of all changes there is certain to be opposition and friction of sorts, but as soon as people become accustomed to the change, these temporary sorenesses vanish. It is from the representatives of the rate-payers alone that any friction could come, and they have shown so much good sense and public spirit in all the greater matters of the past, that I have entire confidence in their bearing in the future. Speaking for myself I endorse with the heartiest pleasure and satisfaction the decision that the constitution of the Corporation shall remain as it is. I look upon it as of the greatest value to the administration of the city that there should be numerous wards and numerous delegates. The information and advice about local needs which these delegates bring, will be of most important service. There could be no more excellent illustration of this than in the assistance they gave last hot weather in calming the fears of the people and establishing temporary hospitals, which were the best means of reassuring them. I welcome, personally, therefore, the arrangement which retains a large number of local counsellors, and the dangers of possible friction I personally regard as enormously outweighed by the certain advantages of their help."

While admitting that the reform contemplated would deprive the representatives of the rate-payers of the predominance they had been accustomed to in the Municipal Administration, and that it conveyed a slight on them, he denied that it in any way infringed the principle of local self-Government, and justified it on the ground that self-Government, in the form in which it existed in Calcutta, had proved unequal to an important portion of the task imposed upon it.

The Plague shows no disposition to relax its hold on Bombay, where the mortality from it during the past few weeks has been about as great as it was at the same time last year. In Mysore and Haidarabad in the Dekkan the disease continues to spread, and it has effected a footing in several places in the Madras Presidency, where, however, it has not yet assumed an epidemic form.

In Bangalore, where the mortality has been higher in proportion to population than even in Bombay, it seems happily, to be on the wane. In Upper India it still lingers in the Jullunder and Lahore district, and it has appeared in the Central Provinces. In Calcutta, on the other hand, it seems to have found an uncongenial soil and to have died out, the city having been free from cases for several weeks. An outbreak of the disease in a virulent form at Burrisal, where it had been introduced from Calcutta, has, thanks to the heroic measures adopted for the purpose by the local authorities, been stamped out.

The Plague Commission has held sittings in Bombay, Poona, Bangalore and Haidarabad ; but, as far as can be gathered from the published reports of the evidence, has elicited no new facts.

The autumn harvests in most parts of the country have been satisfactory, and the prospects of the cold weather crops are generally favourable ; while trade has, on the whole, improved, and the revenue is coming in freely.

In their Report, which has been issued during the Quarter, the Famine Commission, while testifying to the success of the measures adopted by the other local Governments to cope with the calamity, condemn in strong terms the failure of the administration of the Central Provinces in this respect and propose various amendments of the present Famine Code.

An important ruling has been given by the High Court of Bombay in connexion with the refusal of the Bombay University, claiming to be acting under Section XII of the Incorporation Act, to admit the students of the Collegiate Institution of that city to its previous and other preliminary examinations on the ground that the Institution was not authorised by the Government. On a rule obtained by Mr. Karkaria, the Principal of the Institution, against the University, the Court held that Section XII applied only to Colleges sending up students to the final examinations, and not to such as, like the Collegiate Institution, send them up only to the preliminary and intermediate examinations.

Mr. Clinton Edward Dawkins has been appointed to succeed Sir James Westland as Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council. Mr. Justice Strachey has been appointed Chief Justice of the High Court at Allahabad, and Sir Louis Kershaw Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court.

We regret to have to announce the death, at the early age of forty-two, of Maharaja Sir Lachmeswar Singh, Bahadur, of Darbhanga, whose career has been a shining example for all who, in whatever degree, possess similar opportunities. As is well said by a daily contemporary :—"The forty years of the Maharaja's useful life do not present much besides the record of public and private duties honestly done. His generosity was princely. In the great Bengal famine of 1873-74 he spent nearly £300,000 in charitable relief. To sufferers in the recent famine, his tenants and others, he gave eight lakhs of rupees or more. To every public philanthropic undertaking, not only in Bengal, but in the Empire, he was a ready contributor. Indeed, he held his noble fortune as a trust for his poorer brethren ; and no higher praise can be bestowed on the rich man than this."

The Obituary of the Quarter includes also the names of Sir

George Grey ; the Earl of Desart ; Baron Ferdinand Rothchild, M. P. ; Dr. John Hall ; Major-General Stafford ; the Hon. T. F. Bayard ; Sir Thomas Gee ; Major-General A. Hunter ; Major-General R. A. Wauchope ; Mr. Harold Frederick ; Sir Henry Barkly ; M. Puvis de Chavannes ; Mr. Clermont J. Daniell, B. O. S. Ret. ; Lady Martin (Helen Faucit) ; Sir Edward Lugard ; Mr. Latimer Clark, F. R. S. ; Sir Henry Hayes Lawrence ; Lieutenant-General C. W. Tremeneere, C. B. ; Surgeon-General W. C. Maclean, C. B., LL.D., M.D. ; Sir W. Anderson, D. C. L. ; Sir William Jenner, S.C.B., M.D. ; William Black ; the Bishop of Lahore ; Mr. Stephen Jacob, C.S.I., B.C.S. ; Sir George Baden Powell ; the Earl of Lathom, and Sir John Fowler.

December 20, 1898,

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab for the Agricultural year, 1st October 1897 to 30th September, 1897, Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 18

THE period under report was one of Famine and cannot therefore be easily compared with more prosperous years ; but from the figures adduced an idea may be formed of the magnitude of the calamity from which the province was just emerging and the effect which it had exercised on the revenue. As might be expected under the circumstances, Revenue collections showed a large deficit, as, owing to shortage of rainfall, the number of agricultural cattle which had actually to be slaughtered for food and other causes, less land than usual was under cultivation, the area actually tilled being 2,000 acres less than in 1895-96, though 4 per cent. higher than the decennial average. The actual balance of Revenue collections left outstanding, 30th September on the 1897, amounted to Rs. 30,05,352, this total being composed of "Balance of the year", Rs. 23,06,587, and of former years, Rs. 6,98,765. Of this unprecedentedly large sum, some 5 or 6 lakhs were expected to be recovered by the Kharif demand of 1897, and it is hoped that the balance will be gradually liquidated from the income of more propitious years. Setting aside, however, the fiscal results, there are many points which wear a satisfactory appearance, a few of which it may be interesting to note.

Percentage of crops harvested to area is 114.2, showing an average of double cropping of 14.2, as against the normal one of 11.1.

Irrigation wells have increased by 2.1 per cent., while, in proof of the strenuous efforts made by the agriculturists to help themselves, the increase in the number of "kacha" wells, "dhénklis" and "jhaláís," during the year under review was 58 per cent. above that in 1894-95 and 42 per cent. above that in 1895-96. A marked redemption of mortgages took place, and the growing disinclination of money-lenders to make advances on land security must, from the very potent causes assigned therefor, prove of ultimate advantage to the agriculturist.

Perhaps the most pleasing sign of the times is the increasing ability of agriculturists themselves to lend money to their less fortunate or careful brethren and thus avert the necessity of recourse to the "sahucar ;" this condition being, no doubt,

attributable to the general rise in the market value of produce, especially of food grains. This naturally assists the desired end of keeping the money-lender from a too close association with the soil, as the zemindar is only too glad to change his creditor by redeeming his land, even with the view of remortgaging to his fellow casteman. Greater care appears to be called for, in securing that the agriculturist, if compelled to sequestrate his land, should be retained thereon, as tenant-at-will, instances having, apparently occurred in which the Patwari has classified him as "tenant under special agreement."

It is, of course, in times of drought that the farmer learns to properly appreciate the value of irrigation, as will be shown by the following figures. Taking the normal irrigated area as 30 per cent., although in 1894-95 it was only 27·4, in 1895-96 it rose to 41, and in 1895-96 to 47. Taking wheat as an important food staple, we find the area under it 3·6 per cent. less than last year and 18 per cent. less than normal, 54 per cent. of the total area on which it is grown being artificially irrigated. The total area cultivated for food crops was less by 4·3 per cent. than last year, and by 24·5 than normal, or, to put it in an other form, the decennial average of food raised, per head of population being 94, it fell, in 1895-96, fell to 74, and in 1895-96, to 71, which is perhaps the least satisfactory feature in the whole report. The quantities of wheat exported appear to be diminishing, having fallen in 1896-97 to 114. 134 tons from 136,629 tons in 1895-96.

Agricultural stock has largely decreased in quantity, very seriously so in the Delhi Division, the shortage being estimated at 341,581, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The details are as follows, bulls and bullocks 91,501; cows 92,616, cow buffalos, 62,895, and young stock, 96,439. Some considerable time must elapse before the Panjab, more especially the South Eastern portion thereof, will have replenished its bovine population. It is satisfactory to perceive that the Government has acted liberally towards the prevention of serious agricultural difficulties by advancing 16 lakhs of rupees for the purchase of seed grains and cattle for use at the mill or in the plough. Money does not appear to have been required in any large amounts for well-sinking, &c.

On the whole, the Financial condition of the Punjab does not appear to be so unsatisfactory as, without indulging in pessimism, it might have been expected to prove in the face of such heavy drains on its resources; indebtedness as to revenue has unavoidably increased; but the status of the people has improved and a famine which threatened to assume alarming proportions has been successfully tided over.

Report on the Operations of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th September, 1897. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1898.

THIS report is decidedly late in submission, having been forwarded to Government on 5th February, 1898, although the latest district return was received on 14th December. As it consists of only 28 pages of printed matter, and there are no returns given, the delay seems to be unreasonable.

The Department, as may be gathered from its title, exists for the purpose of experimenting on Agriculture, supervising Land Records and educating their compilers, and tabulation of statistics. Its work as regards Agriculture would appear to be mainly experimental. An area of 4,325 square miles was surveyed, and the records written up of 4,281, at a cost of Rs. 53-5-5 per mile, albeit that the Patwaris do not take kindly to the work. Their pay is inadequate, but endeavours are being made to ameliorate their position.

Of the Patwaris of the District, 83·99 have fully qualified, 11·54 per cent. who had been exempted on account of age and long service, are gradually dying out or retiring, and fewer are exempted each year.

Map preparing is being carried on under difficulties, as surveys had been conducted on varying scales and in some instances data are non-existent.

Fifty-seven horse and seventy-five donkey stallions have effected 2,460 coverings during the year; but the stamp of animal resulting from their use in previous years would have been an interesting fact if recorded. There are 3,488 branded mares in the province. Mule breeding fails for want of selection of suitable pony mares. Twenty-two bulls are maintained by Government for cattle breeding purposes.

Insufficiency of means is complained of for dealing with cattle disease.

Foreign traffic with Tibet and Nepal has largely declined, owing principally to non-import or export of grain, excepting the imports from Tibet, which have slightly increased. The deficiencies are, briefly—

Imports	140,325 maunds, value	... Rs. 14,35,313
Exports	48,543 maunds, value	... Rs. 58,138

Cultivated and cropped areas have diminished respectively by 7 and 8 per cent. Irrigation demands have been satisfied in excess to the extent of, from wells, 43 per cent., from canals 35 per cent. Costly endeavours have been made to render barren lands ("Usar") available for crop raising, as also to neutralise the effects of the salts inimical to plant life, but without much success.

The Saharanpur Government Garden realised a profit of Rs. 2,321; but the gardens at Lucknow and Muktesar (Kumaun) are responsible for a loss of Rs. 4,504. On the whole, the Department appears to be doing good work, but it must be from its very nature, to a large extent, tentative.

Report on the Administration of the Jails in the Punjab, 1897.
Lahore: "The Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1898.

THIS Report fully maintains the reputation acquired by its predecessors for lucidity and clearness of composition, as also for punctuality in submission, bearing date April 28th. The first feature which attracts attention is the marked increase in the total number of prisoners remaining in the various jails of the province, as compared with previous years, *i. e.*, 11,857, against 11,401, at the close of 1896; the former number having only been exceeded in the years 1888 and 1889, when the figures reached 12,416 and 12,034 respectively. Taking into consideration, too, the fact that, on the occasion of the Jubilee celebration of the 60th anniversary of the accession of Her Majesty a general gaol delivery took place, at which 1846 prisoners were released, and 4,509 others were granted partial remissions not entitling them to release on that date, one would have looked for a large diminution in place of an excess of 456 over the year immediately preceding. As, however, the conditions of the releases and remissions are not given, we must suppose that the sentences of those actually released would have expired during the year and that the terms which the 4,509 were undergoing did not so terminate even when shortened. If so, the effects will appear in a future report, so that the increase may be looked upon as real and it is probably sufficiently accounted for by the explanation afforded, of "bad harvests" and "high prices."

This reasoning receives strong confirmation, too, from the fact that, while offences against the person "were fewer by 470, those against property" increased by 2,320, the majority being probably "Theft" and its accompaniment, "Receiving stolen property," there being against these offences the respectable totals of 4,674 and 2,808 respectively. Perhaps one of the most interesting points to be noted is the actual cost to the country of housing, guarding and feeding the prisoners of the province for 12 months, and this we find to be Rs. 9,33,615, or an average of Rs. 73-6-6 per prisoner. In the year under review the only set off against this expenditure, in the shape of cash earnings, appears to be the sum of Rs. 73,918-9, or an average of Rs. 6-7 per working prisoner, as against Rs. 1,27,280-10 and 11-42 during 1896, leaving a balance of Rs. 8,59,697 to be defrayed by the State; and, had it not been for garden and

dairy produce supplied free from home raising to the amount of Rs. 48,171, the bill would have been a still heavier one.

With regard to the falling off in cash profits, this would appear to be very largely accounted for by balances outstanding at the close of the year, some of which appear to have been subsequently recovered, as also to stock purchased and not yet expended.

The increased number of juvenile offenders sentenced to imprisonment, when "whipping" could have been inflicted, attracts the attention of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor ; but until the hoped for juvenile reformatory has been made available, the Magistrate would appear to be in a difficult position when dealing with youthful delinquents. The boy, especially if sprung from criminal stock, is little likely to prefer the usage which he may expect from his father, in case of disobedience, to the ephemeral inconvenience of the same as inflicted by law ; and yet incarceration among the criminal population of the land is not calculated to improve his morals. Separation from a thieving father is pre-eminently what he requires, but this cannot be provided for until the Reformatory is an accomplished fact.

Vital statistics continue to be encouraging reading. An average of 31 per thousand of daily sick and of 16·33 deaths among the same number is, probably, a much more favourable one than that obtaining amongst the free population. The general behaviour of prisoners in the various jails of the province appears to have markedly improved during the year under review, as the grand total of punishments inflicted fell from 33,878 in 1896 to 30,024 in 1897, and the difference, *viz.*, 3,854, occurs mainly under "offences relating to work," which account for a diminution of 2,627, other offences fluctuating but slightly, with the exception of "all other breaches of jail rules" which show a falling off of 963.

The idea of employing prisoners in agricultural labour, as carried on at the Shahpur jail, appears to be an excellent and profitable one, as we find that, that establishment supplied food stores, &c., free of cost to the amount of Rs. 3,020-7-7—figures only exceeded at the Central Jails at Lahore and Montgomery, and thus reduced the cost per prisoner to the exceptionally low rate of Rs. 22-1 per annum. The extension of this principle would appear to be advisable.

On the whole, the jails of the Punjab appear to have been excellently administered during the year 1897. They are costly establishments, but this would seem to be a condition inherent in their maintenance,

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Roden's Corner.—By HENRY SETON MERRIMAN. Macmillan & Co. London.

AMONG our younger novelists, there can be no doubt that Mr. Seton Merriman stands in the first rank. His stories, although somewhat unequal, are always interesting, and whatever his shortcomings—and he has his defects—dulness, at any rate, finds no place among them. None of his later works have, in our opinion, touched *The Sowers*; but *Roden's Corner* probably comes, on the whole, nearest to it, although it can hardly be described as an altogether pleasant story. There is in it less complication of issues; and the characters—disagreeable as some of them are—are more convincing than some of those in his earlier novels. The plot turns on the machinations of a couple of scoundrels to get into their hands a monopoly of a chemical substance called malgamite, an essential material in the manufacture of paper. The preparation of malgamite is one of the deadliest of industries and the workers engaged in it die off at an amazing rate. Taking advantage of the fashionable craze of the day for philanthropic movements, these two conspirators put forward a scheme which is ostensibly intended to make it innocuous, but which is in reality merely a device for getting the trade into their own hands. Aristocratic persons give their support to “the development of a definite scheme for the amelioration of the condition of our fellow-beings.” The Malgamite Fund becomes a fashionable charity and many thoroughly honest and straightforward individuals are drawn into what, in the disguise of benevolence, is a gigantic swindle, while others, who are neither honest nor straightforward, lend it their countenance for a consideration. A corner is established, enormous profits are made, but the workmen die even more rapidly than before, and the papermakers, who have to buy their malgamite at the manufacturers’ own price, are being ruined by it. The reader must be left to discover for himself how the bubble is burst, together with the various side issues of love and of hate which are cleverly interwoven with the thread of the tale. In *Von Holzen*, Mr. Merriman has presented us with a thorough-paced villain who has absolutely no scruples, and is prepared to commit murder with no more compunction than he experiences when he steals, from the hands of a corpse, the gulden which have been paid as the price of a valuable trade secret. A man of iron nerve and infinite coolness and self-control, he

is in great contrast to his partner who lacks the backbone, rather than the will, to be thorough even in villainy. A pretty, but exceedingly slangy and unconventional young girl, fresh from school, supplies most of the humour of the book, while in Dorothy Roden we have one of those honest, stout-hearted and good women whom this writer loves to depict. The real hero of the story, Tony Cornish, is a fine character. Mr. Merriman's books are so clever and so eminently readable that we cannot but regret that he should try to heighten the effect of his style by frequent sententious utterances of little meaning when analysed, and by an occasional display of cheap cynicism which is frequently inconsistent with his belief in his own characters. As, for instance, when Roden refuses to give up his connection with the malgamite because he wants to make more money and marry Mrs. Vansittart, he says: "It is only a question of money. It always is with women. And not one in a hundred cares how the money is made."

And the writer adds: "Which, of course, is not true; for no woman likes to see her husband's name on a biscuit or a jam-pot."

And again, when he enunciates the opinion "that intimacy with any who has made for himself a great name leads to the inevitable conclusion that he is unworthy of it," which is not only cynical but rather an unnecessarily elaborate rendering of the very old proverb that "no man is a hero to his valet." The writer's English, too, is not always impeccable. Carelessness in writing is, however, no doubt, to blame for a frequent disregard of the subjunctive mood which is jarring to the critical reader; a trifling defect, perhaps, but for that reason easily remedied.

Rupert of Hentzau. By ANTHONY HOPE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1898.

IF the general opinion that a sequel to a good story is, as a rule, flat, stale and unprofitable, be correct, an exception must be made in favour of Anthony Hope's *Rupert of Hentzau*. There is no falling off either in the spirit of the narrative or in vigour of style and brightness and grace of dialogue. And although we are confronted with the same daring improbabilities which give to the *Prisoner of Zenda* the semblance of a Gilbertian opera, they are so toned down that they seem almost natural. That men should risk their lives to save the honour of a woman—and such a woman as Queen Flavia—by rescuing a compromising letter from the hands of her enemies is, of course, quite according to precedent and the rules of chivalry. That an ordinary English gentleman should, from whatever cause, bear so close a resem-

blance to the monarch of a foreign kingdom as to be able twice successfully to personate him among his own subjects, is less probable. But readers of the *Prisoner of Zenda*, having accepted and condoned this improbability, will find no difficulty in doing so a second time and will feel nothing but gratitude to Mr. Hope for allowing them to see more of the gallant and chivalrous Rudolf Rassendyll. We are disposed to quarrel with him, however, for having failed to find a more satisfactory way out of the difficult position into which he leads this hero than his death at the hands of the most contemptible villain of the story. Death is probably the only artistic ending to a situation which threatens endless complications and difficulties, but we should have preferred that he should die fighting against odds rather than by a bullet in his back directed by a treacherous valet. Life, no doubt, is full of these little ironies, but in romance of the order of *Rupert of Hentzau* some concession might well be made to idealism. The illustrations, which are by Mr. Charles Dana Gibson, are good; and although the artist does not quite realise our conception of Queen Flavia, we must congratulate him on the skill with which he has preserved the likeness of the various personages in the different pictures.

A Philosopher's Romance.—By JOHN BERWICK. MacMillan & Co.

READERS who delight in old fashioned romance which concerns itself with love and adventure rather than with subtle analysis of character or difficult social problems, may be recommended to read *A Philosopher's Romance*, which they will find both charming and thrilling. The scene is laid in Italy in the present day, and the writer shows an intimate knowledge of the place and its people. There is no lack in the story of dramatic situations or of sensational incident, and should any captious reader be inclined to cavil at the latter, we would remind him that melodramatic situations actually occur in Italy which to English minds are suggestive of the boards of the Adelphi. The book abounds in excellent descriptive passages which alone would make it worth reading; as, for instance, the description of the Bora, "that terrible wind which is at once the scourge and the saving" of so many Italian towns:—

The narrow alley was black in the shade of the tall old houses, with their dark windows, that seemed to me like the closed eyes of the dead, and all the space between the frozen footway and the strip of clear sky overhead was full of the unearthly, unforgettable sound of the wind. It shrieked among the stars, and moaned through shadowed archways, it buffeted the swaying signs of the little drinking-shops, and hurled itself like some invisible monster against everything in its path; there was not an inch of brick or wood or stone

or iron in the city that did not give back its icy chill, nor an angle that did not echo its ghastly breath. I stumbled along as warily as might be, for even without the terrible force of the wind the frost had rendered one's footing insecure, and I suppose my misery must have half-crazed me, for when a dark object was suddenly blown towards me on the ground I stooped and clutched it as an animal pounces on its prey. I was nearing one of those streets which serve in new Soloporto to connect the Ghetto with the modern part of the town, and I pushed on towards the corner round which had been blown the magnificent fur cap I held in my hand. A clear patch of moonlight flooded the roadway just here, and as I paused for a second to cling to a post for support against an extra strong blast, a man fought his way into the comparative shelter of the alley. I saw him like a photograph as he crossed the patch of moonlight, a young fellow of five-and-twenty or thereabouts, bare-headed and handsome, with clean-cut features like those of a statue, but with none of the effeminacy which is sometimes associated with the type.

That the author has something more than the mere tourist's knowledge of the habits and modes of thought of the Italian middle classes may be gathered from his account of a visit to one of the garden restaurants of Soloporto :—

The place was very quiet, indeed I think we were the only people in it at the moment ; but in an other hour or so all those little white-clothed tables would be full of light-hearted folk from the town, come out to Barcola in the heavily-loaded tram-cars to eat, drink, and be merry ; and in his capacity for enjoyment I confess that, in my opinion, the foreigner has a considerable advantage over the Englishman. Give a Soloportese a plate of fried fish, a bit of crusty new bread, half a pint of cheap everyday wine ; let him dispose of these in the open air, if possible in the vicinity of an oleander tree, which is sufficient to suggest to him a vivid idea of rural seclusion, and he will not only be entirely happy, but will return home quite convinced that the aforesaid conditions are the very acme of pleasure. If you can add three or four musicians playing popular melodies upon instruments which mark the progress of the evening by getting hourly more out of tune, the enviable inhabitant of Soloporto will feel himself yet more to be envied. He will clink glasses with his companions, talk eagerly about the merest trifle, grow excited and enthusiastic about anything or nothing, indulge in the tritest jokes, illustrate these with perpetual gesture and pantomime, clap loudly and without the slightest self-restraint at every pause in the music, the airs of which he often accompanies in a melodious and quite unstudied manner ; he will, I say, do all these things, enjoy himself for four or five hours in the restaurant garden, and retrace his steps to his stuffy little room in town, having expended upon his evening's pleasure anything you like from sixpence to three times that sum.

Altogether, *A Philosopher's Romance* is, in our opinion, a distinct advance on Mr. Berwick's former book, *The Secret of Saint Florel*.

Ummagga Jataka (The Story of the Tunnel). Translated from the Sinhalese, by T. B. Yatawara, M. C. B., R. A. S. Ratamahatmaya, etc., etc. London : Luzac & Co., Great Russell Street ; Publishers to the India Office. 1898.

THE *Ummagga Jataka*, as the Translator informs us in his preface, recounts the story of the life of Buddha as the Bodhisatva, the last but one of the five hundred and fifty lives through which, as related in the *Jatakas*, the great Indian sage and reformer passed previously to his final appearance as the supreme Buddha. The story of the Tunnel, from which the

Jataka takes its name, and which relates the most remarkable of the measures adopted by the great Pandit Mahasaudha to secure the final triumph of King Védéha of Mithila over his enemies, is introduced by a series of stories, in the style with which we are all familiar, of the questions by the solution of which Mahasaudha confounded his rivals at the Court of that monarch, of the way in which they arose, and of their solution. It is marked by striking beauties of style and language, which are far from being wholly lost, if, as Mr. Yatawara tells us, they could not be completely reproduced, in the translation. Its value, which is great, depends largely on the vivid picture which it presents of the people, customs, manners and institutions of India in a long past age. Any attempt to analyse it further here is out of the question.

Perhaps the prettiest, if not the most characteristic of all the episodes related in it is that of the Bosat's finding of a wife, which we cannot do better than transcribe in its integrity.

From this day forward the glory of the Maha Bōsat increased like the waves of the milky ocean. All his wealth was controlled by his sister, Udumbara Dēvi. When the Bōsat attained his sixteenth year, Udumbara Dēvi thought, "My brother has come of age; his power is very great; he should have a wife of a caste equal to his own," and she informed the king of this view. The king was pleased, and said, "Very good, my dear. Tell the Pandit of it." Thereupon the queen informed the Maha Bōsat of her intention; and when the Pandit agreed, saying, "Very well," the queen continued, "If so, brother, shall we bring a maiden for you from a suitable family?" Then the Maha Bōsat reflected, "Now, her Majesty may obtain an unsuitable wife for me, I will therefore go myself and look for one." He therefore said, "May it please your Majesty not to tell the king for a few days for what purpose I have gone away. I shall look for a suitable wife, and when I find one I shall inform you." The queen agreed, saying, "Very well," when the Maha Bōsat, after bidding her farewell, entered his house and told his bosom friends his intention; then taking with him a tailor's implements, he disguised himself and departed through the northern gate into the North Market.

Now at that time there was a certain ancient but impoverished Situ family living in the North Market-town. There was in that family an only daughter, called Amarā, whose face was fair to look upon. She possessed all womanly graces and virtues; she was also very fortunate. Now it happened that on this very day the maiden, having boiled water-gruel, started off to go to the field where her father was ploughing, and pursued her way along the road on which the Maha Bōsat was travelling. When he saw her approaching, he thought, "This is a fair maiden. If she has no husband, she will be a fit wife for me." On the other hand, Amarā Dēvi also, on seeing the Maha Bōsat, reflected, "If I lived in the house of such a man as this I could restore the position of my family." After this the Maha Bōsat thought to himself, "I do not know whether she has a husband or not; I shall therefore ascertain the fact from her by means of signs. If she is wise, she will understand what I ask by these signs." And when at a distance he bent his fingers and clenched his fist. Amarā Dēvi, too, knowing the meaning of the sign made by the Bōsat, that he was inquiring from her whether she had a husband or not, extended her fingers. Thereupon the Maha Bōsat, finding that she was not married, stepped near her, and asked her, "What is your name, friend?" "Sir! my name is that which never existed, does not exist, and never will exist in this world." "No creature born in this world is immortal, therefore there is no such name as Amarā (undying). Can that be your name?" inquired the Bōsat. "Yes, sir!" she replied. "Friend! to whom are you taking this water-gruel?" "To the first god." "Is it to your father that you take the water-gruel?" "Yes, sir! it is to him." "What is your father

doing there?" "He is making one into two." "Making one into two means ploughing. Is he ploughing. there, friend?" "Yes, sir!" "Where is your father ploughing?" "In that place from which there is no return." "The place from which there is no return is the burial-ground. Friend! is he ploughing near a cemetery!" "Yes, sir!" "Well, friend, when will you return!" "If it comes, I shall not come; if it does not come, I shall come." "Friend! is your father ploughing on the other side of a river? For what I understand is: this: if the river water comes down you will not come; if not, you will." "Yes, sir!" she replied. After they had thus spoken, Amarā Dēvi offered him some water-gruel, saying, "Sir! drink this water-gruel." The Bōsat, thinking it ungracious to refuse the first task imposed on one, said, "Yes, I will drink." Then Amarā Dēvi took the pot of gruel from her head and placed it on the ground, while the Bōsat reflected, "Now, if this maiden gives me the gruel without first washing the jar and giving me water in it, I shall forsake her at this very place." But Amarā Dēvi, having filled the jar with water, gave it to him, and after placing the empty jar on the ground without giving it into his hands, stirred the pot of water-gruel, and filled the jar with it. However, there was not sufficient rice in the gruel. The Bōsat therefore said, "What, friend! this gruel is very weak." And she replied, "We did not get water." "What! when your field was in blossom it had no water?" continued the Paṇḍit. "Yes, my lord, it is so," she replied.

Thus, keeping a part of the water-gruel for her father, she gave the rest to the Bōsat. After drinking it and washing his hands and mouth, he said to her, "Friend! I shall go to your house. Tell me the way." Amarā Dēvi, saying "Very well," told him the way to her house thus: "Take this road, and when you enter the inner village you will see a certain boutique where they keep for sale balls of dough made of flour and sugar. Proceed a little further till you see another boutique where they sell water-gruel. When you reach this spot and go a little further you will see a kobōlila-tree in full blossom. When you reach that tree take the road which is towards that hand by which you eat. Do not take the road that lies towards the hand with which you do not eat, or, in other words, take the southern road. This way (or this market-town) will lead you to my parents' house; you had better find the way I have just indicated."

Here ends the case of the path which was not definitely pointed out.

Thus Amarā Dēvi, having directed the Bōsat, went on her way with the water gruel for her father, and the Bōsat went to Amarā Dēvi's house by the way she had told him. After this the mother of Amarā Dēvi, seeing the Paṇḍit, offered him a seat, and asked of him, "Son! can I offer you any water-gruel to drink? And he replied, "Mother! our sister Amarā Dēvi gave me some water-gruel to drink." At this the mother of Amarā Dēvi thought, "This person must be one who has come here for the sake of my daughter." And the Bōsat, noticing the poverty of the family, said to her, "Mother! I am a tailor. Have you got anything to be stitched?" "Son!" she continued, "there are pillows, torn clothes, and other things to be stitched, but I have not got the means to get them sewn." He then replied, "Mother! there is no need of money. Bring them; I will stitch them." Thereupon the mother of Amarā Dēvi brought and gave him some torn clothes she had to be mended. Thus he mended all the clothes and other necessities which the villagers wanted to be repaired, for all things undertaken by a virtuous man always succeed and prosper to his satisfaction. Then he said to Amarā Dēvi's mother, "Mother! publish this in every street." And she made it known all over the village; and the Bōsat, completing all the tailoring work as soon as it was brought, earned one thousand masses that very day. Amarā Dēvi's mother, having cooked the mid-day meal for the Bōsat to eat, inquired of him, "Son! how much rice shall I clean for dinner?" And the Bōsat replied, "Mother! cook sufficient for all in the house." She then cooked rice, making it well flavoured and seasoned.

Amarā Dēvi returned home carrying on her head a bundle of firewood, and in the fold of her dress a sheaf of leaves from the jungle, and setting down the bundle of firewood near the front door, entered the house from the back door. Her father returned home when it was getting dark. Sundry tasteful dishes were provided for the Bōsat. Amarā Dēvi having waited on her parents, partook of food herself, and after they had finished eating, the daughter having washed and anointed the feet of her parents, performed the same services for the Bōsat.

And the Paṇḍit lived there for a few days, with the object of observing and learning the character of Amarā Dēvi.

Now one day the Bōsat to test her said to Amarā Dēvi, "Amarā Dēvi, my dear ! take about half a seer of rice, and with it cook me some gruel, rice, and cake." She, without saying, "How can I cook so many things with only half a seer of rice," was willing to do as she was bidden, and saying, "Very well, I shall do as you wish," cleaned half a seer of rice, boiled the whole grains, made water-gruel with the broken grains, and with the ricedust prepared cakes and all other suitable sweetmeats. She gave the Maha Bōsat water-gruel and cakes. As soon as he took a mouthful of this water-gruel, such was its sweetness that all nerves of the palate were affected by it ; but to try her he spat out the mouthful of water-gruel he had taken, saying, "Friend ! since you do not know how to cook, why did you waste my rice ?" Amarā Dēvi, without taking offence, gave him the cakes, saying, "My lord ! if the water-gruel is not good, eat these cakes." As soon as the cakes were tasted, such was their sweet flavour that his sense of taste was overpowered by it. As before, he spat this out. Even this did not provoke the maiden, for she then gave him rice, saying, "If it is so, take this rice." When a little of it was placed in the mouth, all the palatal nerves were titillated.

Now the Bōsat, as if in anger, said, "If you do not know how to cook, why did you waste the substance I earned with difficulty ?" He then mixed all the three courses together, and smearing her head and body with them, told her to stand near the door in the sun. Amarā Dēvi without the least anger said, "Very well," and stood near the door in the sun. Then Maha Bōsat, finding that there was no pride in her, said, "Friend ! come here." She, for her part, without waiting to be bade a second time, came to him at once. When the Bōsat left the city, he had brought with him one thousand massas and a fine kasi cloth in his betel-bag. This he took out, and, placing it in the hands of Amarā Dēvi, said, "Friend ! go with your mother, and after bathing come to me dressed in this." She did as he bade her. The Paṇḍit then gave all the massas he earned by tailoring, and also those he brought with him, to Amarā Dēvi's parents, and comforting the old people he said, "Take no thought of your livelihood," and led Amarā Dēvi away with him into the city. With the view of testing her further he kept her in the house of the gate-keeper, and telling the gate-keeper's wife of his plan, he went to his house. Then he sent for two of his men, and, giving them a thousand massas, said, "I brought and left a woman at such a house ; take these thousand massas with you, and test her fidelity." So saying, he despatched them. They went there as the Bōsat had bade them, and offered her the thousand massas to tempt her. Amarā Dēvi thus replied, "These thousand massas are not worthy to wash my husband's feet," and rejected their proposal. These men went and informed the Bōsat of it. But the Bōsat sent these men three times over, and even at the third time she did not accept their proposal. He, therefore, on the fourth occasion told them to bring her by force. They then went and brought her against her wish. Amarā Dēvi (when brought before the Bōsat) could not recognise the Maha Bōsat, as he was arrayed in his state robes, and she smiled and wept as she looked at him. The Paṇḍit inquired of her the cause of her smiling and weeping. To this Amarā Dēvi replied, "My lord ! when I saw your divine splendour, and realised that it was not undeserved, I reflected that the merit you have gained by virtuous acts in your former births was inconceivable, and I smiled with joy. I wept through love for you when I thought that you would now scorn my words, and by seducing women maintained and protected by others, or by committing adultery, you might go to perdition in a future birth." The Bōsat having tried her and found out that she was a pure-minded woman, sent her back to the place from which she was brought, saying, "As she does not believe me, keep her in the same place whence she was brought." And again, assuming the disguise of a tailor he went to her that very night, slept there, and early on the following morning he returned to the place, and informed Udumbara Devī that he had brought a suitable Kumārīka to be his wife. The queen, having informed the king about the matter, decorated Amarā Dēvi with all a woman's ornaments for the feet, ears, neck, and hands, and placed her on the great dais. Then by the royal command the great city of Mithila, seven yodunas in extent, was variously decorated with gilded flags, and she was placed in an upright posture in a splendidly adorned state chariot, so that all the populace might

easily behold her beauty ; for they feared that if she reclined, none of the citizens would see whether she was dark or fair, puny or well-formed, and thus attended by a great procession, like a young goddess attended by crowds of gods, she was escorted through the streets of the town to the house of the Mahā Bōsat, where she plighted her troth, and was given in marriage to him. On the wedding-day of the Bōsat the king sent him various and numerous presents, none worth less than a thousand pieces of gold. Among the citizens of Mithila, from the king and his courtiers down to the cow-herds, there was not one who did not bring with him one or more presents. Amard Dēvi divided the presents sent by the king into two equal shares, and returned one half to the king, retaining the other half. Thus she divided all the presents sent to her, even those sent by Udumbara Dēvi, into two equal parts, and returned one half, keeping the other. In this manner she won the hearts of all the citizens of that great city, Mithila, in one day, even in one second. From this time forward the Bōsat, who is precious as the apple of the eye to the three worlds, lived in happiness with Amara Dēvi, instructing the king in things temporal and spiritual.

Sir Henry Lawrence, the Pacificator. By Lieutenant-General J. J. MCLEOD INNES, R. E., V. C. With Portrait. Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1898.

PERHAPS the most salient feature of this admirable sketch of the career of one of the greatest of Indian Administrators, and that which will be most interesting to students of Indian politics, is the author's judicial treatment of the differences which arose between Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Dalhousie in connexion with our policy in the Punjab, and one of which was, at the same time, the subject of prolonged, and, at the last, acrimonious, controversy between the former and his brother, the future Viceroy. The first of these differences, as is well known, concerned the disposition of the Province after the crushing defeat of the Khalsa at Gujrat. The final arrangement made by Lord Hardinge for the government of the Punjab, when the treaty of Bhairawal was substituted for that of Lahore, had been that of carrying on the administration in the name of the minor Maharaja, through a British Minister assisted by a Council of Regency. It was under that system that Sir Henry Lawrence, the first Resident, and practically the supreme ruler, of the Province had earned, and justly earned, the title of Pacificator. In spite of the doubtful temper of the soldiery and the intrigues of the Maharani, we are told, "the genial accessibility, the freedom of discussion, the manly sympathy and the readiness to redress wrongs and evils, united with the sturdy capacity for rule and the freedom from all tendency to intrigue or narrowness of demeanour, that were found to prevail, won in a marvellous degree the feelings of all classes of the people, sardars, chiefs, landholders and peasantry alike."

But Lord Dalhousie had now made up his mind that this system had broken down, or rather, that it was essential to inflict condign punishment on the Sikh nation, guilty and

innocent alike for the treachery of the few and the flame it had kindled. He had announced his decision to Sir Henry, who proposed to issue a proclamation in a very different spirit, in language which, if, in some particulars, not wholly unprovoked, was almost intolerable in its harshness.

"In my conversation with you a few days ago," he said :—

"I took occasion to say to you that my mode of conducting public business, in the administration with which I am entrusted, and especially, with the confidential servants of the Government, are, (*Sic*) to speak with perfect openness, without any reserve, and plainly to tell my mind without disguise or mincing of words. In pursuance of that system, I now remark on the proclamation you have proposed. It is objectionable in matter, because, from the terms in which it is worded, it is calculated to convey to those who are engaged in this shameful war an expectation of much more favourable terms, much more extended immunity from punishment, than I consider myself justified in granting them. It is objectionable in manner; because (unintentionally, no doubt) its whole tone substitutes you personally, as the Resident at Lahore, for the Government which you represent. It is calculated to raise the inference that a new state of things is arising; that the fact of your arrival with a desire to bring peace to the Punjab is likely to affect the warlike measures of the Government; and that you are come as a peacemaker for the Sikhs, as standing between them and the Government. . . . This cannot be. . . . There must be entire identity between the Government and its agent, whoever he is. . . . I repeat, that I can allow nothing to be said or done which should raise the notion that the policy of the Government of India, or its intentions, depend on your presence as Resident in the Punjab, or the presence of Sir F. Currie instead. By the orders of the Court of Directors, that policy is not to be finally declared until after the country is subjected to our military possession, and after a full review of the whole subject. The orders of the Court shall be obeyed by me. I do not seek for a moment to conceal from you that I have seen no reason whatever to depart from the opinion that the peace and vital interests of the British Empire now require that the power of the Sikh Government should not only be defeated, but subverted and their dynasty abolished. . . . I am very willing that a proclamation should be issued by you, but bearing evidence that it proceeds from Government. It may notify that no terms can be given but unconditional submission; yet that, on submission being immediately made, no man's life shall be forfeited for the part he has taken in hostilities against the British Government."

The gravamen of this letter, says the author, lay less in its tone towards Sir Henry than in the treatment it seemed to foreshadow for the Punjab and its people. "His anxiety was deeply aroused. He feared the worst; that is, that all chance was at an end of securing a friendly feeling of good will and alliance in the frontier race, and that one of bitter alienation, hatred and hostility would prevail."

Lord Dalhousie himself was not wholly unimpressed with these views. But annexation he would not forego, and, in his conclusion that it was unavoidable, he had the support of John Lawrence. On its becoming known, in the middle of

March, that this decision was irrevocable, Sir Henry tendered his resignation. When, however, Sir Henry Elliot, the Foreign Secretary, deputed for the purpose by Lord Dalhousie, waited on him and explained to him that "the Governor-General particularly desired that he should continue in his leading position in the Punjab, *if only for the special* reason that it would ensure his having the best opportunity for effecting his great object, the fair and even indulgent consideration of the vanquished," he was prevailed upon to reconsider his decision. The eventual arrangement for the administration, however, was that it should be conducted by a triumvirate consisting of Sir Henry Lawrence as President ; his brother, John Lawrence as Revenue, and Mr. Mansel, as Finance, Member ; an arrangement under which, as our author adds, the great duty of effecting the pacification of the Province, removing irritation and introducing contentment and peace, rested largely on Sir Henry ; and it is largely due to the manner in which he performed that duty that the subsequent history of the Province has not justified the apprehensions with which he viewed its annexation.

Of the other differences which developed themselves in the course of the administration, the only one that led to serious friction and calls for special notice, related to the treatment of the old Jaghirdars. But there was another question the policy adopted with regard to which by Lord Dalhousie was distinctly opposed to the convictions of Sir Henry Lawrence. Sir Henry, had he been allowed his way, would have fostered, in the Trans-Sutlej States, an aristocracy similar to that which had long existed and been wisely recognised in the Cis-Sutlej, where, such men as the Rajas of Patiala and Jind materially influenced, guided and ruled the people. But Lord Dalhousie would have none of this. The results of this error were apparent when the mutiny broke out. The men of the Cis-Sutlej States, under the guidance of their natural leaders, at once "declared" for the British, kept open the road to Delhi, furnished "valuable contingents, and gave important aid throughout the siege," while, with the single exception of Kapurthala, no other Trans-Sutlej Sikh thus voluntarily came forward. Even when, on July 23rd, John Lawrence called on the Sikh Chiefs to furnish men for the war, "the result," says Lieutenant-General Innes, "was that no levies of real Sikhs under their own leaders ever seem to have joined at all, though a body of gunners and sappers was organized; and a large number of Muzhabis—low-caste Sikhs—were raised from among the canal workmen by the irrigation engineers, and converted into sappers and pioneers for employment at Delhi ; while, in contrast to them, leaders and chiefs of the Muhammadan, Múltán and frontier

tribes, under the influence of Edwardes and the frontier officers, raised regiment after regiment of their Múltání, Pathán, and other followers (not Sikhs at all), who marched down to the seat of war, and aided in the conflict at Dehli. One often reads loosely worded allusions to John Lawrence having sent down large bodies of newly-raised Sikhs to Dehli. In point of fact, he sent none but the few mentioned above. Those who aided us at Dehli were the *Cis-Sutlej* Sikhs and the Múltán and frontier Muhammadans, besides the Kashmír contingent of 2,000 men, who arrived shortly before Dehli was stormed.

After the capture of Delhi, when the storm had been weathered and the tide had turned—but not till then—the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs came forward and enlisted in thousands, raising the strength of the Punjab troops, it is said, up to some 70,000 men."

Lord Dalhousie's peremptory ruling on this question of cultivating an aristocracy left no room for diversity of opinion between the two brothers. But it was otherwise with the cognate question of the recognition of the jaghirdars, in respect of which a wide discretion had been left to the Board. Each case had to be decided on its merits, and the friction that arose between John Lawrence, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, stood out for economy, and Sir Henry, who attached greater importance to securing the good-will of the people, at last reached the dimensions of a public scandal. Lord Dalhousie, to whom disputed cases were referred, appears commonly to have sided with John Lawrence, and Sir Henry felt that his position was becoming untenable and tendered his resignation, which was accepted. Sir Henry was transferred to Rajputana, where it fell to him to settle the adoption question on a more liberal footing than that hitherto followed by Lord Dalhousie, while it was reserved for Lord Canning, after the Mutiny, to rectify to some extent the errors which followed his departure from the Punjab.

Common Salt ; Its use and necessity for the Maintenance of Health and the Prevention of Disease. By C. GODFREY GUMPEL, Fellow of the Physiological Society, etc. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Limited, Paternoster Square. 1898.

MR. Godfrey Gumpel has followed up the little book on the natural immunity against cholera, and the prevention of this and other allied diseases by simple physiological means, which he published three years ago, and which was reviewed at length in these pages, by a more elaborate treatise under the above title, in which he discusses, in great detail, the history and physical properties of common salt and the functions it performs in the human body, in health and disease.

What, among other things, we understand Mr. Gümpel to maintain in this very suggestive work is that the susceptibility of man to a large number of serious diseases, notably such as depend upon the state of the blood, connotes a deficiency of sodium-chloride—common-salt—in the blood serum. and that what is indicated for the purpose of diminishing the susceptibility in question is that the supply of salt derived by the system from the food consumed should be supplemented, from time to time, in certain other ways, which he describes ; as, for instance, by drinking daily, soon after rising in the morning, half a pint of a solution of salt in water, of suitable strength, *viz.*, about 1 per cent., and, if necessary, repeating the dose once or twice during the day, and by warm salt water baths of the density of sea-water.

What, it seems to us, the author actually proves, is that a deficiency of sodium-chloride in the blood serum gives rise to morbid conditions which, where they do not at once produce more serious consequences, may not unreasonably be expected to increase the susceptibility of the organism to diseases of the kind he has in view ; and this, if it does not amount to demonstration of the first part of his theory, may be said to be a near approach to it. The weak part of the theory appears to us to lie in the absence of all proof that a deficiency of common salt in the blood is a frequent condition, or that, when it occurs, it is generally the result of a deficiency in the quantity supplied to the system *ab extero*, and not rather of physiological conditions which no increase of that supply can be expected to affect.

Among the facts upon which the author's view of the importance of the part played by common salt in the maintenance of health is based, are that the ability of the red-blood corpuscles to preserve their proper shape, and so discharge their function of absorbing oxygen and distributing it throughout the body, depends upon the presence in the blood serum of a certain proportion—0·4 to 0·5 per cent—of this substance, in the absence of which the corpuscles absorb water from the serum, swell till they assume a spherical form and ultimately burst and discharge their hæmoglobin and potash salts into the serum, where the latter salts not only set up chemical changes which result in depriving the blood itself of its sodium-chloride, but act as a violent poison on the heart.

As to the effect of the distension of the red blood corpuscles, in consequence of want of salt in the blood, to a degree short of their actual destruction, Mr. Gümpel says :

I am not cognisant of any experiments ever having been made to answer that question ; but the wonderful perfection of the appliances and means that are available in the modern physiological laboratories should overcome the difficulties which surround such an inquiry.

The experiments undertaken by many physiologists have deter-

mined the fact, that the absorption of oxygen by the blood is not a mere physical phenomenon.

One hundred volumes of pure water absorb, at the temperature of the human body, about 1 volume of oxygen, and any substance held in solution, whether mineral or organic, diminishes this amount.

The arterial blood of dogs was found to contain about 19 to 20, and that of some herbivora—sheep and rabbits—only 10 to 15 volumes of oxygen in 100 volumes of blood.* This absorption of so large a volume of oxygen is explained by Liebig† as being due to this gas entering into a loose combination with the hæmoglobin of the blood corpuscles.

The question now before us is : Can the blood corpuscles, when in a swollen globular form, which may be designated (if it not actually is) a diseased condition, properly perform this chemical function of combining with oxygen in the lungs?

I think we are justified in our contention, that this is not the case : that, namely, the blood cannot absorb the gas, and if it does so, it takes place imperfectly and under difficult and unfavourable conditions.

The following considerations and facts will support us in our contention. We first need but remember what was said about the ductile nature of the corpuscles, which allowed them to elongate—in fact alter their shape to accommodate themselves in their passage through the fine capillaries—and we can at once understand how difficult, if not impossible, it must be for the swollen globules to pass through these capillaries, especially when the lung has inhaled atmospheric air of a low temperature, which rather tends to contract the fine blood vessels.

This must naturally produce a check in the circulation of the blood in the lungs, with all the concomitant phenomena of dyspnoea, and, as a result, an insufficient oxygenation of the blood.

But there is another cause acting against the absorption of oxygen by the enlarged globules. Manassein,‡ who submitted the blood of 178 different animals to about 40,000 experiments, found that the blood corpuscles become enlarged, through the absorption of oxygen, in the proportion of 1 to 1·10. When now the corpuscles are already distended, and have approached the globular or death form, we can logically assume that such enlargement has a limit, and that thus *a resistance is offered to a further extension ; that is to the absorption of oxygen.*

A more positive proof of the inability of distended corpuscles to absorb oxygen is afforded by the following experiments. The red corpuscles give the colour to the blood. When charged with oxygen this colour is a bright red, *provided that the corpuscles are in their normal biconcave shape.* After the blood has passed through the capillaries of the tissues and the various organs, it loses oxygen, absorbs carbonic acid, and is now of a dark colour. Upon the blood reaching the heart and thence the lungs, it is recharged with oxygen, gives off carbonic acid and appears again bright red. The absorbed oxygen is hence a cause of the bright colour of the blood.

But there is another method of effecting this change of colour. It has been ascertained that, when the corpuscles are of the normal biconcave form, the blood appears red ; but that, if through an addition of water they swell and become globular, the blood assumes a black colour. When now a proportionate quantity of common salt is added

* Bunge, pp. 239, 240.

† Zuntz, *Die Gase des Blutes*, Hermann, iv.b, p. 48.

‡ Rollet, *Physiologie des Blutes*, Hermann, iv.a, p. 22.

to this black blood, it has the effect of restoring the corpuscles (unless they have been killed, as pointed out above) to their normal biconcave state, and thus of *reviving the healthy red colour of the blood*.

Moreover, as Dr. W. Stevens§ relates as the result of his experience : " The blood becomes black exactly in proportion to the diminution of its saline matter ; and when this is diminished to a certain extent, the vital current becomes so vapid as to be totally incapable of stimulating the heart. When such blood is exposed to the air *it does not become red*, but when we add a small portion of saline matter, even to this black and dead fluid, the scarlet or arterial colour is immediately restored."

" When we cut out a piece of the red crassamentum from healthy blood, which has just coagulated, and immerse this in distilled water, the water rapidly attracts the saline ingredients out of the clot. In proportion as this takes place the colour changes, and in a short period it becomes perfectly black."

" When we take this black clot out of the distilled water and expose it directly to the air it remains black, or if we immerse it in a jar of pure oxygen, the oxygen can now no more redden its colour than it can change the colour of the blackest ink. There is but one way by which the red colour can be restored, and that is neither by air, iron, nor oxygen, but by restoring to the blood the saline matter which it has lost ; and when we sprinkle or rub a small quantity of the muriate of soda (common salt) on the black clot, not merely red, but a colour that is highly arterial, is immediately produced ; or when we make an artificial serum by impregnating water with any of the neutral salts,|| and then take the black clot out of the clear fresh water and immerse it in this equally clear saline fluid, it is immediately changed from black to a bright red colour."

We are hence forced to conclude that the blood corpuscles, when distended through the absorption of a watery blood serum, are deprived of their faculty of absorbing oxygen in a degree corresponding to the deficiency of sodium-chloride in the blood, and we can now well understand how futile are the attempts to oxygenate the blood by inhaling pure oxygen into the lungs, as is so frequently advised to, and is practised by, consumptive patients. The blood will not be in a condition to absorb the vital gas, until it has had its corpuscles restored to their normal shape by the admixture of a proportionate amount of sodium-chloride.

Into the reasoning, for the most part hypothetical, on which Mr. Gümpel bases his conclusions as to the relation between various diseases and a deficiency of salt in the system, we shall not attempt to follow him. Enough has been said to convince any unprejudiced reader that such a deficiency, to whatever particular consequences it may lead, must be highly prejudicial to health ; a truth, indeed, which the majority of mankind had long since discovered, in a general way, by experience.

§ Dr. W. Stevens, *Observations on the Blood*, London, 1832, p. 15 *et seq.*

|| Any substance which can draw the water out of the corpuscles, will effect this, but the normal and natural substance for the human blood is sodium chloride.

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VOLUME CVIII.

April 1899,

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 216—APRIL 1899.

ART. I.—ST. THOMAS' THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF BOMBAY.

1. THE FIRST ATTEMPT.

WHEN, in 1675, the learned Dr. Fiyer visited the Island of Bombay, he noted with disapprobation that (though "it was mightily desired") the English in Bombay had no Church. He had seen Goa the Golden, magnificent in her decay. Everywhere his eye had rested on churches, convents, colleges and glorious structures. The bells were for ever calling sinful man to prayers. There he saw the Church of the Grey Friars, dedicated to the gentle St. Francis of Assisium, one of the most beautiful temples in the East; there, the splendid *Se Primacial*, hardly surpassed, so the good doctor would have us believe, by any Church in his own land; the Cathedral, whose bell had so often clanged the death summons to the shuddering wretches in the cells of the Holy Inquisition, and warned them that the hour of their *auto-da-fé* had come; there also the Church of St. Castan, built in imitation of the Basilica of St. Andrea della Vella at Rome, there convents and Churches, colleges and retreats for Jesuit and Carmelite, Dominican and Franciscan, Theatine and Augustinian, Oratorian and what not. But in Bombay—though it was mightily desired—no English Church.

There was, to be sure, a burial ground, and it was thickly sown. Thomas Mendham was the first Englishman they planted there, and Mendham's Point they called it. From the Castle and the Barracks to Mendham's Point the passage was all too quickly made. The building of the Young Men's Christian Association marks the spot where our early English were laid, and, perhaps, the tram lines and the roads to the Bandstand and Wodehouse run over their resting place.

In cities should we English lie,
Where cries are rising ever new;
And men's incessant stream goes by
We who pursue,
Our business with unslackening stride.

One of the earliest pilgrimages of the writer was to Goldsmith's tomb, near the Temple Church. It is a plain slab, eighteen inches or so above the surface of the ground. Straddle across the tomb fore and aft, sat two office-boys, *vis-à-vis*, an alley-taw bisecting the distance between them. The young rogues were enjoying the sunshine of that June day and wasting their masters' time in the mysteries of "knuckle down." How Goldsmith's bones beneath must have crinkled with pleasure! And if Mendham's Point is where we have located it, fronting our richest seas, the buried English lie there as contentedly, with the sigh of the sea on both sides and the rush of their grandchildren's children's children overhead, as Oliver under plain slab in "London's Central roar."

Then, again, old Hamilton notes, with withering sarcasm, that the Honourable Company had been at much charge in building forts, but yet had no thought of building a Church. In Goa he had counted, from a single knoll, eighty churches and chapels. Perhaps some modern Fryer or Hamilton has also noted, as he passed along the stately array of magnificent buildings from Apollo Pier to Crawford Market, that the English had raised gorgeous structures for their Colleges, their Schools, their Public Offices, Municipal Halls and Railway Stations, but that the old Church of St. Thomas, built when Bombay was poor and harassed, when she had but one inhabitant where she has now fifty, was the only structure of any size raised by them to the honour of God, that had arrested his attention.

But, after all, were our countrymen so remiss? Before Wrenn had laid the first stone of the great Cathedral,* before, indeed, it was quite settled whether the blackened walls of old St. Paul's were to bear a roof again, or whether a new temple was to rise Phoenix like from the ashes of the old one, the foundations of our Church in Bombay had been laid and the structure raised above the level of the ground. Streynham Master had yet to build the first English Church in Madras, and Aurungzebe to grant the site upon which Calcutta was to rise. When Fryer came, the Island had scarcely been a decade in our possession. Both then and for many a long year after, she had to fight for her very existence, against Portuguese envy and pride, against the Angria pirate, the Sidi of Jinjirah, the revolt of her own soldiers; a deadly climate and pestilence. A space of three years, three short years, was the measure of life allotted to an Englishman in this "very unheathful Island" of those days. That learned

* "The first stone of the new Cathedral was laid at the south-east corner of the choir by Mr. Strong, the Mason, and the second by Mr. Longland, on June 21st, 1675." "A History of St. Paul's." Longman.

Dane, Carsten Niebuhr, knew what carried them off. They died because they slept in the open air and ate pig and drank strong wines of Portugal and wore tight clothes! Early in her history, a great plague wasted her, as, alas! it is wasting her now. Two hundred years ago the Council write plaintively: 'The mortality this year has been exceeding.' "We are six," piteously moans President Waite on another occasion, "including your Council. It is morally impossible to longer continue from going underground." Fluxes, dropsy, "barbiers" (whereby a man presently lost the use of hands and feet), gout, the stone, malignant and putrid fevers, the awful Chinese death (the remedy for which was as bad as the disease), sent four men out of five in a bullock hearse to Mendham's Point by the sea. "Val Hurst:—drinking sott," is the terse entry in the Surat list of factors about this period, and we may surmise that Bombay was not without her Val Hursts too. One must remember, too, that it was the time that Charles II was king; a time when the harmless gaieties and innocent pleasures of life, which had been suppressed and weighted down by Puritanism, had broken out, for want of light and action, into malignant and foul ulcers, blotching our national character with leprous sores. The drama of the time was altogether become abominable. Congreve, Wycherly, Etherege, "loose Astrocea," and chaste Centlivre are, for all their wit and humour, the Yahoos of our literature. The infected current of that tide swept out here and caught them in its swirl. Aungier, that good and great man, whom Bombay in return for many services has left to a nameless grave, Aungier, the Governor, bemoaning the mortality among the soldiers, writes: "strong drink and flesh is mortal" (to the diseases he mentions), "which to make an English soldier leave off, is almost as difficult as to make him divest his nature, though present death be laid before him for the ill gratifying of his palate."*

If phraseology counts for anything, Bombay was a highly god-fearing place. The Deputy Governor lay ill at a distance, and they regret they could offer nothing "more than their prayers to God for him." Did one of them die, they piously "desired Almighty God to prepare them for their last change." The Plague raged, and they acknowledged, with reverent meekness, that "it hath pleased Almighty God to let them see what they are." Yet Cook, the first Governor, robbed the inhabitants and summoned a wretch to his Court, on Friday, whom his fuddled worship had hanged on the Tuesday before. They gambled, they fought,

* State Papers, Bombay, Vol. I.

they went a buccaneering, they hastened to be rich, they imported white women and then refused to marry them, they filled up old bandoleers with wild-fire, and, lacking a dog's tail to tie them to, blew up magazines and "black fellows" with them, they "hindered the performance of public duty to God Almighty at the accustomed hour by long and frequent drinking meetings until two or three in the mornings," they scoffed at religion, and then, at the end of two monsoons, the bullock hearse bumped their burnt out carcases to Mendham's Point by the Sea.* They had been shipped somewhere East of Suez and they had raised more things than a "thirst." They had lost everything apparently, but their native courage. That flared brightly enough in their drink-sodden bodies. Sivaji sacks Surat and sends messengers to demand homage from Oxinden, else "ye would raze our house to ye ground and not spare a life." But wee bidd him keepe his people out of ye reach of our gunns, else wee would shoote them." And when they would not, he drew out in rank and file, charged the rogues, and routed them. The "Portugals" threaten Aungier, and he bids them "come on when they will." "We little concerne ourselves," says he, "for anything they dare doe, and wish they would begin to quarrell."

Still Divine Service was held twice a day, morning and evening, as enjoined by the Book of Common Prayer, at which all Factors must attend, in what was called a "Hall" in the castle. First came a hospital, and, close on its heels, a suggestion from the Court of Directors in England to raise a separate building for Divine Service. The suggestion was enthusiastically received by Sir George Oxinden, "vir sanguinis splendore, probitate preminentissimus." A subscription list was opened, for the building was to be raised by voluntary subscriptions. Sir George, no doubt, headed the list, with the same generosity which prompted him to give a velvet cushion, pulpit cloth and £500 to the Church at Wingham and £300 to Adisham Church in Kent. The Court of Directors were expected to pay their share. A building was mightily desired, to impress the natives and ignorant foreigners with the decency and solemnity of the "holy reformed religion." Indeed, this was the "main design." For the poor Indian, with untutored mind, there was no accommodation in the "hall," even if it were wise to admit any large concourse of natives within the walls of the castle. The Company's servants subscribed "freely and conscientiously, some offering a year's wages, some half a year's, the least a quarter's." The amount thus raised was entrusted to the Chaplains of Bombay and Surat to provide the building materials against the time when formal sanction should be received from the Direc-

* Anderson's *English in Western India and Bombay State Papers*, *passim*.

tors. In the meantime the plan was sent home for their approval. There was evidently, in this first attempt, nothing of that grandeur of design which, as we shall see, stirred the jealousy of Madras later on. The edifice was to be a plain, unadorned building, of a "form proportionable to the smaller churches in England," and capable of seating a thousand people. The President also desired the services of an experienced builder from England, whose salary should be paid from the collected subscriptions.

Next came the discussion as to the site. First, Mendham's Point was suggested, as most convenient to the Factors. But this, it is interesting to observe, was held to militate against the "main design," which was to attract natives, who, by "observing the purity and gravity of our devotions," might haply be induced to embrace our faith. Could these men, after all, have been the "drinking sotts" and "unclean livers" that the records appear to paint them? We would fain believe that, if the evil they did in their lives has lived after them, the good has been unhappily interred with their bones, and that there were many men among them whose lives were as pure and noble as Oxinden's and Aungier's. Fortunately for the new building, this proposal was lost, for, less than a century after, Mendham's Point, with its graves and mausolea, was demolished for military reasons, and our Church must have suffered the fate of the Portuguese Church on the Esplanade. On one point, all were agreed. It must be under the protection of the castle, in an open space far apart from other buildings. At last the present site, between the native town and the European residences, was chosen. Here it would serve the "main design," inasmuch as it would adjoin the high road to the bazaar. It would be open to all, and some, who came to see, might perhaps remain to pray. Thus it was primarily to be a Mission Church. But, as Anderson justly remarks,* however mistaken our forbears were in believing that the natives who had seen the gorgeous ceremonial of the Roman Churches, would be enticed, or their curiosity excited, by the decorously dull worship that was offered by the English Churches then, "it is remarkable that their conversion should be mentioned in official despatches as an object not only to be desired, but attempted and devoutly prayed for."

Fifty thousand rupees were collected, and an organ was provided. "What hath become of it," indignantly says a subscriber some thirty years later, "God knows." The foundations were laid and the walls thereon raised to a height of five feet. Already, perhaps, the subscribers saw the future edifice "thwacked full of young blacks, singing vespers," as Hamilton had seen the Chapel of the Paulitines in the palm groves of Bandora. But,

* "The English in Western India." Chap. IV.

alas ! Oxinden died (1669). "Then," writes a contemporary, "piety sickened and the building of Churches was grown unfashionable." In Governor Child's time the fifty thousand rupees disappeared. Hamilton openly asserted that the monies were converted to his own use. Though, as Mr. Douglas points out, Child's connections were very influential with the Board of Directors in England, the charge was never refuted. Cobbe, the Chaplain, thirty years afterwards, when calling for restitution, hints that others were implicated in the disappearance. Perhaps the true solution is that the Sidi of Jinjirah, who was then battering the walls of Bombay Castle, had to be bought off, and the money was possibly used for this necessary object.

Whatever the solution may be, the walls grew no higher. There they stood, as Evelyn says of St. Pauls, "in a sad and deplorable condition ; a stable for horses, and a den of thieves." There they stood, a gathering place for unclean beasts, human and otherwise, a mark of derision for the natives for whose conversion they were partly raised, a reproach and a scandal to the English in Bombay for a full generation after, and the cause, as it was believed, of many a disaster and many a humiliation for their sins.

Thus ended the first attempt to raise the English Church that was "mightily desired."

Macaulay has painted the condition of the rural clergy in England at this time in colours sombre enough, but scarcely in darker tints than the satirist and dramatists of the period. "When dinner calls," writes the satirist Oldham,

"When dinner calls, the implement must wait,
With holy words to consecrate the meat ;
Soon as the tarts appear, Sir Crape, withdraw ;
Those dainties are not for a spiritual maw."

To be sure, he had something to look forward to :

"The menial thing, perhaps, for a reward
Is to some slender benefice preferred,"

But there was a proviso :

"—that he must wed
My lady's antiquated waiting-maid,
In dressing only skilled and marmalade" *

Antiquated ! Alas ! Alas ! Sir Crape !

Whatever was his condition in England, it was far from humble or menial in Surat or Bombay. Streynham Master, Oxinden and Aungier were all men of gentle birth ; yet the respect and deference shown by them to the Chaplain excited the remark of a German traveller. In Surat and Bombay at any rate, the Levite did not sit below the salt, though

* Oldham's *A Satire addressed to a Friend*.

President, factors, chirurgeon and all, sat at a common table. He took precedence after the members of Council. He sat fast when the tarts appeared. He pledged the health of his wife, the lady's waiting maid, with the best of them, when, on Fridays after prayers, the President and his friends drank to their wives over the seas. The toast was passed in those days for every imaginable reason, and even an antiquated lady's maid, no doubt, proved an excuse for the glass. In Oxinden's time each course was ushered in with a fanfare, and all sat down to eat off dishes of pure and massive silver.* Let us hope he did rise when the "Pale Punch" made its appearance: "Pale Punch," that seductive brew of brandy, lime-juice, rose-water and sugar that sent many a tall man besides poor Tom Coryat to a dying bed, with addled brains.

Libation I pour on libation,
I sing the past fame of our nation,
For valorous glory,
For song and for story,
This, this is my grand recreation.

And his pay? Fifty pounds a year, and fifty more if (*absit omen!*) his behaviour was good. But then he was allowed his diet and his lodgings; his palanquin, no doubt, and umbrella of state, his attendants and his fees, and, at Christmas, a share in the President's bounty. He sent home more than his annual salary, for his ministerial duties did not wholly absorb his time and energies; but there!—we are a nation of shopkeepers, and Sir Grape, perhaps, could not altogether get away from the instincts of his race.

In 1683 the Company did an unwise thing. It ordered Captain Keigwin, Commander of the Garrison troop, to refund the extra Rs. 25 a month which the Council had provisionally granted him for table-money. Keigwin was "an arbitrary geat." He seized the Island for the king, placed the Deputy-Governor and his party under arrest, and caused himself to be unanimously declared Governor. One of the two Chaplains, Mr. Watson, sided with him. The Court of Directors at home, in a tempest of indignation, ordered his immediate dismissal. "Let Mr. Watson, that scandalous Chaplain at Bombay," they scream across the water, "have no salary from the time of his rebellion!" Let him know he is no more our servant!! Banish him from the island and let him take care to pay his own passage home†!!! Then, no doubt, they grew purple in the face or fell back in apoplectic fits. Thereafter they evince a tender solicitude for the Christian people on their island. It is true, they do not ask what has become of the Rs. 50,000 subscribed for the

* Anderson's English in Western India.

† State Papers, Vol. ii.

Church, on the unfinished walls of which some wag with a turn for quotation had scribbled the accusation that they had made it a den of thieves ; nor do they propose sending out a clergyman to fill the place of the "scandalous" and banished Watson, who must find his own way home ;—but the English in Bombay might, however, provide themselves with another Chaplain from one of their ships. They were to be careful. They were to choose a man "as much to their satisfaction" as the Chaplain at Surat, who had succeeded in "the room of Badham deceased."

Whether the rebellious and "scandalous" Mr. Watson paid for his own passage home, history makes no mention. "Three years after, we have the first definite mention of a separate place of worship. We would fain believe that it was obtained through the zeal of a Chaplain as good as Badham's successor. Child's new Deputy-Governor, Sir John Wyborne, was a man of a different stamp from his chief. To Wyborne Bombay owes her first separate place of worship. In 1686 the Governor's house in the Castle "was made much more commodious than before." Sir John "had fitted up a very convenient chapel out of two rooms situated in the middle of the house, where there is room," so runs the letter to the Directors, "for four times the number of people, we have in the Island."

Here, then, we have the first English Chapel, two centuries ago. For a generation more this room must serve the English in Bombay, who were so solicitous that the heathen should be impressed with the solemnity of their devotions. There stood the walls, a reproach and a shame to the English name. Nothing prospered while they stood thus ; nothing succeeded. They had taken of the accursed thing ; they had stolen and dissembled. None had returned home from this place in peace to enjoy the blessings of his native land, with the fruits of his labours, since the House of God had lain waste.* Bombay was under a curse. Yet for another thirty years the English were to use the room in the castle, receiving the Holy Sacrament from the silver chalice (still in the muniment chest in the Cathedral vestry) presented in 1675 to the Church Community by Gerald Aungier, "*Gubernator et pro rebus honorabilis Anglorum Societatis Indiis Orientalibus Mercatorum Agentium Præses*," as the inscription on the chalice styles him.†

* Cobbe's Sermon preached in Bombay 1715.

† Mr. Douglas considers it "the oldest tangible memorial of our existence as an English Settlement." There is another silver chalice in the vestry of an earlier date. The inscription reads : "The Gift of the Greenland Merchants of the cittle of of York, 1632." There is nothing to show how or when it came into the possession of the Cathedral

II.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH, 1715-18.

But now at last the reproach was to be wiped away. In 1714 the good ship *Katharine* loosed by God's permission from Deal, bearing on board, "in high spirits," the Rev. Richard Cobbe, M.A., Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company. After divers adventures, wherein the ship was caught "in a very boisterous and turbulent sea, with thunder and lightning," and the Captain, his Mate and a Midshipman were lost, they cast anchor in Bombay harbour on St. Matthew's Day (September 21st), 1714, six months after they had left Deal. Mr. Cobbe records with satisfaction that he was received by "the Governor, the Honourable William Aislavie, Esq., and the gentlemen of the Council, courteously and respectfully." He was lodged by the Governor in a convenient place in the Fort or Castle near the Chapel.

Cobbe was a man of strong individuality, untiring, if somewhat aggressive, zeal, and great determination. To him Bombay owes its Cathedral much as we see it now. He was determined that restitution should be made, and nothing diverted him from that determination. Yet, search the Cathedral, and neither monument nor brass tells of his deed. As a fact, Bombay closed the doors of the fane he built upon him, and—but, as Rudyard Kipling says, that is another story. Cobbe was not a man to sit quietly under the disgrace of being compelled to perform "public devotions in a private manner." "On June 19, 1715, being the first Sunday after Trinity," he preached a sermon, taking for his text 2 Samuel, vii, 1, 2, 3. "*See, now I dwell in a house of Cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains.*" Glancing for a moment at the building, "the ruinous walls of which," said the preacher, "still remain a standing monument of reproach to us and to our nation to this day," he pointed out that, "as long as the walls remained as they were, the congregation must account for the sin to God 'unless the punishment were atoned for and averted by a timely restitution. It was no use, he insisted, crying "our hands have not done this wickedness, neither have our eyes seen it." The guilt was diffusive and upon the whole community. "If ever, therefore," he continued "we expect to see this island flourish and increase in honour, wealth and power, if ever we hope for God's mercy and protection, or desire the light of his countenance shine either upon our counsels or endeavours, may we date these blessings from the day that the foundation of this Church is laid anew. . . . And, lastly, what greater good can we possibly do either to the honour of God, our blessed Saviour, His Holy religion, or ourselves than this commendable work here before us—the building and repairing of the House of God." We cannot follow the brave

Chaplain through his sermon, but we can understand and sympathise with his feelings, when he rebukes his hearers for crying with those in Haggai :—" This is not a time : the time that the Lord's house should be built is not come," and for their carelessness in compelling him to conduct " the public devotions in private, and to worship the God of order in much confusion." It was a hot June's day, for the monsoons had not yet broken, and there were more reasons than the preacher thought of, for his congregation rejoicing when he ended. What followed we shall relate in Mr. Cobbe's own words.

" After sermon in the morning, I waited on the Governor the Honourable William Aislabie, Esquire, according to custom, at his lodgings in the Fort, before dinner, who was pleased to address me very friendly in these words—

" ' Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning.' "

" ' Please your Honour, I think there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence.' "

" ' Well, then, if we must have a Church, we will have a Church !' Do you see and get a book made and see what everyone will contribute towards it and I will do first.' "

" Which was accordingly done, leaving a blank for the Company's subscription, which was filled up afterwards with ten thousand rupees." "

And then the Doctor adds in a line by itself—what, with all our advantages of the Bombay of to-day, must make us sigh for the good times. He adds, " I repeat the information that — A Rupee is half a crown." "

While Mr. Cobbe's subscription list is being circulated among the Bombay and Surat dignitaries, and while the energetic Chaplain is explaining by circular and in letters to the " factors" and " writers " of Calicut, Anjengo, Madras, Calcutta and far off China and Gombroon, the necessity of contributing to the building of the Church, we may be permitted to glance at the old Bombay that Mr. Cobbe saw through his spectacles.

Barely a month after his arrival, the Chaplain respectfully writes to the Bishop of London, giving him, as he had been commanded, some account of the island and the state of religion there. The people he finds wholly given up to idolatry and superstition, ignorant and poor. They consist, he writes chiefly of " Moors, Gentoos, Portuguese and cooley Christians, converts which the Portugals have made by marrying into their families, the better to ingratiate themselves with the natives." "

The Moors," of course, are the Mahommedans ; the Hindus of to-day were known as " Gentoos" to our great grandfathers, while the name " Cooley " is now given to anyone of any caste who carries a burden. Mr. Cobbe found the island much

"healthier than heretofore, or than is usually reported." This, he explains, is due to the prohibition of using *Bucksho*, a smaller sort of fish, with which they used to dung their ground and trees in these parts, as well to the stopping up and repairing of several sea-breaches, which formerly overflowed a third part of the island. The soil, he contemptuously asserts, is poor and barren: "A sandy rock producing little save *balty* and coco-nuts." The population, white, black and brown, he computes at 16,000; the Portuguese having five Churches, "supplied with Padres and Clerico's (*sic*) from Goa, but the English have only a private Chapel for their public devotion." Their chief liquor was Shirazi wine, "very strong and wholesome, but not so well tasted," and their arrack came from Goa and Batavia.

Mr. Cobbe goes on to describe at some length the languages current here. Indeed the first specimens of Sanscrit literature were presented to the British Museum by this Bombay Chaplain. The following may prove interesting: "*Hindustani infra lineam describunt literas, more Brachmanico. Malabarici in foliis palmarum stylo ferreo characteres suos sculptos habent: Brachmanica est lingua verborum copiosissima: Mauri seu gens Mogallana nullos habent de suis characteres; ideoque literæ Persicæ usurpantur et inter Magnates ipsa etiam lingua Persica pro sua; a dextrâ ad sinistram solent scribere more Hebræo; Scriptura autem Brachmanica et Gentilitia e contra legitur a sinistrâ ad dextram ut apud nos; in sese contrahunt characteres suos, formasque literarum contrahendo invertunt.*"

The letter to the Bishop he sends by the hands of two Bombay gentlemen, one of whom has lived in the island for 28 years and the other for 22. He himself, he is thankful to say, is pretty well inured to "this sweating climate," though his predecessor, Mr. Watson, "poor gentleman," died before "his year was compleat." The good Chaplain's wants are very many. He asks for a good ring of bells, a large marble font, two branches of candlesticks, two tables of brass with the Commandments engraved thereon, European wives for the soldiers, inasmuch as they contract marriages with Portuguese wives, "and their children are thus bred Papists," and more copies of "the short instruction." The new Testament which he brought with him, the Portuguese would not allow to be the true version. "However," he adds with satisfaction, "they dare not speak so freely here as at Goa, where they swarm with padres and clericos to above a third part of the inhabitants; they amuse the people here with fine shows, keeping them in ignorance and poverty together." Prayers were read every morning in the little Chapel "at half an hour after six," when the guards were relieved, and twice every Sunday, according to the use of the Church of England; the

Sacrament was administered four times a year, and a sermon every Sunday, Christmas Day and Good Friday. Finally the Chaplain gives it as his opinion "that, with a little care and caution, one may live here as comfortably as in any part of England."

In response to his applications, subscriptions flowed in, with letters of encouragement and gratification, from every station and factory, save Madras. She alone stood aloof, jealous of her elder sister and saying nasty, spiteful things about her. Surat, Gombroon, Tellicherry, Calcutta, China, Anjengo, every "port" almost from China to Peru, sent their quota and hearty good wishes. Madras alone takes a superior air, affects surprise at her sister's ambition, and finishes by asking for a return subscription from Bombay.

"My dear sister," she cries in the persons of her two Chaplains, "our trade is much decayed, our chief merchants have gone to England, and we really cannot ask our people to do anything for your building. It was only last year, notwithstanding our decaying trade, that they most generously subscribed to our Charity School. Can we, we put it to you, ask them with any decency to put their hands into their pockets a second time? And besides, dear sister, there is an objection made against your design to which we wish you to give a satisfactory answer." And then the cloven foot peeps out. "Why build a structure three times larger than necessary? Surely you cannot expect us to encourage the rearing of a fabric that is rather magnificent than useful. Our people at Madras have so many ways of employing their charity on objects that are really deserving and designs far more beneficial than you propose." Thus, like a jealous little shrew, did Madras scold her sister in the West. And then she melts and becomes magnanimous. She vows and protests she is ever willing to encourage everything that has but the remotest tendency to advance the glory of God, or the honour of His religion. Her love lay hidden under these sisterly admonitions. She will, therefore, be generous even to a misguided, conceited creature like Bombay. "Whatsoever sum the gentlemen of Bombay will contribute to our Charity School, we will use our utmost endeavours to raise as much for the building of your Church." There!—we really mean it. We know what distress is, witness our Charity School, yet "*Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco*." Be "pleased," they say, conscious of having done nobly for Bombay, "be pleased to offer this proposal (with our humble service) to Governor Boone, and let us know how he receives it?"*

* Letter from Messrs. Stevenson and Long, Chaplains, Madras, dated Fort St. George, October 3rd, 1716.

Well might Bombay exclaim—

“It was all very well to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me down stairs?”

We wish that space would allow us to quote Mr. Cobbe's reply to this bartering of charity. He gave them, as he says, “a short and satisfactory answer”—a very satisfactory answer it strikes us. *Imprimis venerare Deum*, he reminds them, is an old maxim, sound and just. As to the rearing of a fabric rather magnificent than useful, drawing himself up, he proudly says: “I think it not at all disproportionate to the number of our inhabitants, or at least not to the expected increase of them; neither is it in my opinion unsuitable, unless it be in the defect, to the dignity and honour of our royal settlement.” As a parting shot, he reminds them that their good wishes for the success of his undertaking would not have cost much and would have been accepted in part of payment; in that case, he would then have signed himself with greater gratification their affectionate brother and their very humble servant!

Communication in those days was difficult and irregular. Thus a letter to “the Chiefs etc., gentlemen in the service of the Honourable United Company at Surat, and to all charitable and well disposed persons of the Christian faith,” dated December 16th, does not reach Surat till the morning of the 22nd. The letter does not remain unanswered. Mr. George Bowcher, Chief at Surat, in sending his subscription of 200 rupees, “new Surat,” says: “I wish you better success than your predecessor, who built little, raised and destroyed abundance of money to no purpose; he had finished a stately organ which I saw in the fort. What is become of it God knows,” and finishes with stately bows and flourishes of his three cornered hat, as his “most obedient, most obliged servant.” Mr. Bowcher in a subsequent letter, remitting a further subscription, becomes enthusiastic and poetical. “In sending you 300 rupees towards the finishing of your fabrick, which has long been in agitation, longer projected, long neglected, almost become desolate, become a widow before an espouse, now in a short time may rejoice and sing anthems to her heavenly king,” and with statelier bows and deeper flourishes, the warm hearted gentleman is proud to call himself his “humble delighted servant.”

The chief of Calicut, Mr. Robert Adams, tells Mr. Cobbe “that he has wrote to this Honour Boone” to deliver to him, in behalf of himself and his family, 800 new Bombay rupees. He begs of him to endeavour to visit Calicut, not having had the honour of seeing a divine of the Church of England for 24 years! If Mr. Cobbe would do but this, he, his wife, his sisters and his family would conceive it a great and

kindly favour. Mr. Gray of Surat also sends a second subscription. This time, however, neither "new Surats" nor "new Bombays." They are two bales marked "M.D." which contain ("with ten pieces musters delivered abroad") fifty coorge of *Mugga dooties*. Mr. Gray further enlightens the Chaplain regarding the mysterious "musters" and "Mugga dooties," that "they are goods proper for your port and cost in Bengal six and half rupees per coorge"—adding with a true commercial gratification, "and, indeed, are not ill bought." And, as the fault of the Hindu, like that of the Dutch, is paying too little and asking too much, he emphasises the fact that these goods should sell from eight to eleven or twelve rupees per coorge. Mr. Cobbe does not prove as good a salesman as Mr. Gray would like. The "Mugga dooties" were sold at "publick outcry to some black merchants at rupees eight per coorge and three months' trust"—adding Rs. 399 1 qr. 45 reis (for annas and pies were not then) to the public fund.

The end of 1718 saw the subscription list nearly closed and the Church ready for the opening day. Subscriptions, however, still dropped in, quaintly worded and for odd reasons. Major Cornelius Sodgington, who two years previously had promised, with misgivings, "Rs. 20 for my wife when I get her," had been evidently twenty-fold happier than his expectations. It was a long voyage out in those days and a bride elect had ample time to change her mind. But the gallant Major, perhaps, was fortunate. In Christmas 1718 he subscribes, let us believe in the fulness of his matrimonial bliss, Rs. 400. Then one Jonathan Stanton sends three mysterious *gubbars*, which are valued in the aggregate Rs. 11. And, by the way, how noticeable it is, among that old-fashioned generation, that the names are simple, un-hyphenated and single-barrelled. Here are no De Curcy Snookleighs, or Fity-Grubbin-Snobsons, or Gould-More-Sharpers, but plain Jonathan Jones, or Elizabeth Horne, or George Smith and nothing more.

The Rev. Richard Cobbe cast his net wide, and all was fish that came within its meshes. Here are Cunisha and Chumqua—names of quite a Gilbert-Sullivanian ring—, two generous Celestials that contribute two hundred and forty rupees between them. On a memorable occasion, Edward Lear tells of—

An old priest in Peru
Who dreamed he converted a Jew,
And how in the night,
He woke in a fright
And found it was perfectly true.

Whether "Pereira, otherwise Isaac, a converted Jew," gave Mr. Cobbe a bad night or no, we have no means of knowing: at any rate he figures for Rs. 6 in the subscription list.

Richard Walters "is content for Rs. 11." "A fine upon Bundarees at Worlee" brings in Rs. 18; "a shipwrecked man" offers Rs. 40; "a commutation for penance corporal" (a rupee perhaps for every stripe) Rs. 150, and lastly "Joseph Homell, his fine for misdemeanour, Rs. 20." A quaint subscription list; "*Gubbars*" and *Mugga dooties*, Chinese and Jews, Bundarees and shipwrecked men, commutations and fines for misdemeanours!

Christmas, 1718, was a great day for Bombay. The morning previous, all the inhabitants of English blood had been invited to witness the opening of the Church, the largest English temple in the East, and after that ceremony to partake of the Governor's bounty at the Castle. Thus runs the Government order:—

"To the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain. The Church being now finished so as Divine service may be decently performed therein, the President has thought fit to order me to inform you, it is his pleasure, to-morrow morning being the Nativity of our Blessed Lord, you repair thither at the hour of ten and perform the office according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as usual, and to continue the service of the Church as appointed on every day of the week at the hours of eight in the morning and four in the afternoon (provided you are able to go through it)."

By Order of the Honourable Charles Boone, Esq.,
President and Governor of Bombay, &c.
Owen Phillips,
Secretary.

At last after years of disappointment, of trouble and vexation, after years of unwearied solicitation, Mr. Cobbe had wiped away the reproach from the English in Bombay. The building was at last so far ready that divine service might be decently held therein. Two centuries have done but little to change it outwardly from what it was, white from the mason's hand, on that eventful Christmas. True, the steeple had not risen to its present height, and the floor was hardened mud, and the windows had but oyster shells to keep out the rain and to let in the light; true the lighting was not gas, and the punkahs did not swing, and the walls were bare of sculptures or memorial brasses. Still it was, in the proud words of the worthy Chaplain, "a structure deservedly admired for its strength and beauty, neatness and uniformity, but more especially for its echo. It was larger," he continues, "than either of the English Churches at Madras or Bengal, or any of the Portuguese Churches here, suitable in some measure to the dignity of our Royal Settlement," at which, be sure, Madras shrugged its shoulders with affected disdain. Then he ends with words that sound prophetic, "big enough for a Cathedral."

Christmas, 1718, dawned like an English summer. Every one was up betimes. All the ships in the harbour, His Majesty's

and the Company's, were gaily dressed with flags and pennons. The Castle was brave with banneret and bunting. The Great Green, for there was no Elphinstone Circle or Town Hall yet, was thick with Moors and Gentoos and Parsis and what not. The Fort wall had that day been also finished and was thronged, we may be sure, with sightseers. The Company's European troops, resplendent in scarlet and gold, commanded, let us imagine, by Major Cornelius Sodgington of connubial bliss, lined the end of the route near the Church; then came the Goanese *topasses*, those bold Artillery men, and lastly the armed Bundaris, who tap the toddy trees. All the Europeans had gathered at the Castle, and the Procession, headed by the Governor and Council, started thence in great order. Already the mem-sahibs, glorious in hoop and patch, and in the latest fashions brought out by the ships in the harbour, had gone on in bullock gharis, in palanquins and sedan chairs, with their runners before them and their umbrella bearers by their sides, to take their seats in the order of precedence. The Council Ladies and ladies whose husbands have been of Council have their allotted pew. The Commanding Officer's wife (Mrs. Cornelius Sodgington with the roses yet in her cheek and the orange blossoms still on her dress, we must believe), and the Gunner's wife—yes the Gunner's wife!—Each has her pew. And then Mrs. Tommy Atkins, with her pale white baby—poor little scrap!—slips into pew marked "Inferior Women."

Then the procession started through the old Portuguese gate of the Castle. Out they came in bag wigs and swords, powdered and laced,—portly no doubt, for Portuguese wine was cheap and good living the order of the day; at the head, Governor Charles Boone, then the Councillors, then the Free Merchants, the Factors, the Writers and all good Christian folk. The guns from the Fort boomed out a Royal salute of twenty-one guns; the ships in the harbour replied with like salvoes; the Bundaris and the *topasses* presented arms, each in his own sweet way, and the great holiday began. "There was the Church dressed with palm branches and plantain trees, the pillars adorned with wreaths of greens and the double crosses over the arches looked like so many stars set in the firmament." The procession wended its way to the west door, where it was met by the Chaplain in his proper habit, and introduced repeating the twenty-fourth psalm and the *Gloria Patri*. And we may be sure the good priest's heart was full of thankfulness and joy and worthy pride as, with measured step and raised head, he sang aloud—"Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in!"

The service began as usual. But the consecration of the

Church to God's service saw also the consecration of a new life to God, the baptism of a little baby-girl—"a good omen," the writer hopes, "of future increase." There was the little child, soon to be called *Susanna*, in Mr. Cobbe's arms, close by, her gossips, the Governor, Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Crommelin, who came down to the font during divine service. We wonder whether it was Mrs. Atkins' baby? If it were, we may be sure they stood side by side, the lady and the soldier's wife, on that day of peace and good tidings, feeling that under that roof there were no differences in rank, and that it was good to be in His house. A whole crowd of "black people," Ramajee and all his caste, thronged round about; so pleased were they with the decency and regularity of our way of worship that they stood throughout the whole service. The sermon followed; after which the Governor, the Council, and the ladies, and all the great people came into the vestry, where they drank sack to the success of the Church. We are not told whether "Ramajee and his whole caste" expressed any wonder at the customs of their masters, who were so solicitous to impress the heathen. Then the procession returned. A great dinner was held, for there was a splendid entertainment, wine and music and abundance of great cheer. Whig and Jacobite joined without any compunctions, in toasts to "the King over the water." And when their hearts were merry with—wine, for they were drinking till four o'clock in the morning, firing guns and making much noise—, Mr. Cobbe, wise man that he was, brought forth his subscription book, and "got above two thousand four hundred rupees, of which the Governor, for example's sake, launched out one thousand rupees himself."

Thus was the Cathedral open, and if to-day Bombay has, in part, the oldest English Church in India, it is to the piety, energy and perseverance of one man we owe it—to a man who set himself to clear the English in Bombay of the stigma of having robbed monies entrusted to them for building a house to God, and who fearlessly brought them to contrition and restitution. Yet search the walls of the Cathedral that he built, its records and its brasses, and not one word is found recorded or engraved to his memory in gratitude or admiration. There is thus still one reproach that the English in Bombay need to wipe away in regard to the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas.

ART. II.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during the latter half of the 18th Century.

(Continued from No. 215—January 1899.)

CHAPTER III.

HITHERTO we have been considering cases, for the most part, of men driven from employ by the ill-success of French enterprise in the Carnatic. Another of these was Claude Martin, whose name has been preserved from oblivion by the noble foundations that still bear his name in Lucknow, Calcutta, and Lyons, his native city. Martin never had an opportunity of achieving warlike honours after leaving the French service, which he did about 1762. It is true that he entered the army of the victorious English Company, in which he was allowed to rank until he ultimately reached the titular position of Major-General. But his life was henceforth passed at Lucknow, whither he had been sent on special duty, and where he devoted himself to the arts and crafts, making guns and small-arms for the Nawab, and embarking in successful speculations connected with indigo and other local produce. This quiet career hardly entitles Martin to a place in our list of Military Adventurers; yet so useful a life deserves a passing tribute. He continued his labours for a third of a century, and died in 1800, leaving the bulk of his property to purposes of education in the various places above named. His life was thus described by a contemporaneous observer in 1789 :—

“Colonel Martin is a man desirous of all kinds of knowledge; and, although he is at the head of a large property which he owes only to his own industry, he works whole days together at all the arts that concern watch-making and gunsmith’s work with as much bodily labour as if he had his bread to earn by it. As an architect—and he is everything—he has built himself at Lucknow a strong, elegant house.” It is said that the Nawab was so delighted with this building, which was known as “Constantia,” that he offered to buy it for a sum equivalent to a million sterling. But the General—who had other ends in view—declined the offer, of which the only result was to suggest a singular expedient to prevent the appropriation of the property after his death. A Moslem ruler might violate the rights of a deceased owner, but he would probably respect a tomb. With keen perception of this feature of oriental character, the General bequeathed the building to the school he intended to found—still known as “La Martinière”—, ordering, at the same

time, that his body should be interred in one of the ground floor apartments; and there his remains are still believed to lie, in a plain sarcophagus of marble, though disturbed by rebels in 1857.

This is a singular instance of a victory of peace which is pleasant to contemplate among the more turbulent scenes with which our story is chiefly occupied.

A friend and partner of Martin's who also did good with a great fortune, now demands attention. In the brief notice of Médoc we have had to refer to the little war between Sindhia and the Rana of Gohad; this was originally waged for the possession of Gwalior; but that place was captured by a British expedition, under Major Popham, in 1780, handed over to the Rana of Gohad, and left to be recaptured by Sindhia, in pursuance of the negotiations which began in the following year and ended in the Treaty of Salbai in 1782. Not content with this, the Mahratta chief next aspired to deprive the Rana of Gohad itself; and, while engaged in this attempt, discovered, among the stolen property of a European traveller, a detailed plan of much ability intended to be submitted to the Rana for the purpose of enabling him to raise the siege. He found that the traveller was named Benoît de Boigne, who was seeking for employment among his—Sindhia's—enemies; and, having a sort of tacit understanding with Warren Hastings, the British Governor-General, with whose passport the foreigner was travelling, he wrote to Hastings and procured M. de Boigne's recall. The circumstances which led to these events—destined as they were to have most important consequences—deserve a brief record.

Benoît de Boigne was the son of a respectable burgess of Chambéry in Savoy, born in, or about, 1750, and destined for the profession of arms. While still very young he entered the French service, being posted as an Ensign to the regiment of Lord Clare, in the Irish Brigade, then under the command of Colonel Leigh. It was, doubtless, in that period of his life that he laid the foundation of his knowledge of the English language. France at that time had no work for her soldiers; and after a few years of garrison life the young Savoyard accompanied his corps to Mauritius, returning to France in 1773. Impatient of the want of action and promotion in the then existing state of the service, he took furlough; and, providing himself with a letter of introduction from the Marquis d'Aigueblanche, repaired to the camp of the Russian Admiral Orloff, then heading the forces of Catherine II. in a war against the Ottoman Empire. Appointed Captain in a regiment of Greeks, he was captured by the Turks during the siege of Tenedos, and kept in confinement at Scio until the peace of Kuchuk Kainarji, in June, 1774.

Obtaining his liberation under this treaty, Boigne repaired to St. Petersburg, where he was presented to the Empress, and made upon that able but sentimental sovereign the impression natural to a skilful soldier who was also a fine young man. Catherine engaged Captain de Boigne to take a journey in her interest to the East, and on his way through Southern Russia he had the fortune to fall in with the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland, who gave him some letters of introduction. Proceeding to Aleppo, the young officer joined the Bassora caravan, with which he hoped to visit Persia ; but, after reaching Baghdad, the party were stopped by the Persian officials, that kingdom being then at war with Turkey. Nothing daunted, Boigne retraced his steps and proceeded to Alexandria ; and, after some further adventures in Egypt, took ship at Suez, and in due course landed at Madras. Here Lord Percy's letters befriended him, and in the beginning of 1778 he was appointed to a vacant commission in the 6th regiment of Native Infantry ; having thus held office in the service of three several nations before he was thirty years old.

The Government of Fort St. George (Madras) was at this period in sore straits, neither civil chiefs nor military possessing the capacity needed to bring their afflictions to a happy issue ; the Governor was Mr. Whitehill, who had to be removed from office by Warren Hastings ; the Commander of the Forces was Sir Hector Munro, who had won the battle of Buxar fifteen years before, but to whom years had brought more of discretion than of valour. Haidar Ali, the Moslem usurper of Mysore, had nursed his grievances against the Presidency until he could contain them no more, and his son, Tippoo Sahib, exceeded him in malignity, if not in military genius. Two Members-of-Council went in succession to ask for peace, each in turn to be driven with contumely from the enemy's camp : the disinterested pleadings of the Missionary, Swartz, were no more successful. In June, 1780, the Mysoreans burst like a flood into the Carnatic lowlands with 90,000 troops of all arms and a number of French officers. Of all the wars of modern times in India none has had more sympathy from the popular side ; public prayers were everywhere offered for the success of Haidar and his son ; the Commissariat was ably administered by a wealthy Brahmin. The Madras rulers could oppose to the invaders only a force of about 5,200 men assembled at the Mount under Munro, and a smaller body under Colonel Baillie, in the " Northern Circars," which they ordered down to join the Commander-in-Chief, who was marching towards Conjeveram. It is well-known that, after delays for which he was not, perhaps, entirely answerable, the latter did not arrive at his destination till near the end of August, while Baillie never reached

it at all, being cut up by Tippoo without any attempt at relief from Head-quarters' camp, where the firing had been audible for hours. The lives of the surviving British officers were spared, on the strong representations of the Frenchmen present ; but they were destined to a long and painful captivity. The regiment to which our Savoyard adventurer belonged was involved in this catastrophe ; and subsequent history would have been seriously affected had he not been previously detached on escort duty with two companies, and so escaped the fate of his comrades.

But he had seen enough of Madras imbecility, and at once resigned his commission, setting up at the Presidency as a Fencing-master. After a few months of this unpromising life our adventurer appears to have remembered his commission from the Czarina, or his own wish to explore the then mysterious regions of Central Asia. A new Governor had come out to Madras, in the shape of Lord Macartney, who had also seen Russia and known what it was to be a prisoner of war. To this nobleman our adventurer addressed himself for aid, and not in vain. Struck, perhaps, by sympathetic feelings, he dismissed Boigne with a letter for Warren Hastings, armed with which the Savoyard reached Calcutta in the beginning of 1783.

His military career now seemed closed : whatever technical knowledge he may have acquired, it had brought him neither glory, nor experience of war on a serious scale ; and not even the sagacious ruler to whom he now presented himself could have seen that he had before him a man destined to be a great soldier in the same sense as Marshal de Saxe, or Frederic, called "the Great."

Mr. Hastings, understanding that the man before him was undertaking the arduous task of travelling to Russia by way of Persia and Turkistan, readily gave what help lay in his power, supplying letters which might be useful credentials, as he had already done for Bogle when visiting Thibet. Thus provided, the traveller made his way up the country, his first halt being at Lucknow. Here he found affairs in a very different condition from what had been the case when Kásim and Sombre went there eighteen or nineteen years before. The bold Nawab-Vazir of those days had passed away, and his place had not been filled up ; his son, Asaf-ud-Daula bore, indeed, the same titles, but was in effect little more than a stipendiary, or mediatised prince, secured by British support and spending on frivolous amusement the money extorted from defenceless subjects. Martin was there, leading the life of busy curiosity described in a quotation given above ; and Major Middleton, the Governor-General's Agent, doing honour to his employer's credentials, paid the traveller all due attention. Presented to

the Nawab, he was favoured with a dress of honour and a gift of 4,000 rupees, and at Lucknow he passed the hot season, studying Persian and making friends.

Meanwhile the western horizon was clouding over, and the Moghul Empire was relapsing into the decrepitude from which the integrity and courage of Mirza Najaf had given a momentary relief. That able public servant had died in April, 1782, leaving his estate and his office to be objects of contention between Mirza Shafi, his nephew, and a favourite follower called Afrasyab Khan. The Empire rapidly became disintegrated, and anarchy was setting in with its worst train of consequences.

"So reduced," says an eye-witness of those times, "was the actual number of human beings, and so utterly cowed their spirit, that the few villages that continued to exist at great intervals, had scarcely any communication with one another; and so great was the increase of beasts of prey that what little communication remained was often cut off by a single tiger known to haunt the road."*

Yet the sovereignty of this afflicted region long continued to be a matter of veneration and its service to be sought with eager competition. To understand all the crimes and intrigues that went on over the heads of the unhappy people of Upper India would require reference to a whole literature; we must here be content with what relates to the subject with which our narrative is immediately concerned. Outside the Moghul struggle a wary Mahratta was keenly watching; and while the palace and person of the imbecile Emperor were being contested by the courtiers, Sindhia was biding his time. Towards the end of 1783 Mirza Shafi came back from a small foray, bringing with him a Persian leader of mercenaries named Mohamad Beg Hamadāni, to whom was entrusted the governorship of Agra. The Savoyard adventurer also came up at the same time from Lucknow, with an introduction to the Mirza; but was prevented from using it by the death of his intended patron, who was just then pistolled by his associate, Mohamad Beg. Boigne next turned to the British Agent in Sindhia's camp, Mr. Anderson, whom he found in attendance on the Mahratta chief before the walls of Gohad. From him also he failed to obtain assistance. Being on terms of acquaintance with a Scot, named Sangster, who was in charge of the gun foundry of the besieged Rana, he next opened a correspondence with this person, in the hope of being engaged by the Rana; and this led to his being summoned to Calcutta by Warren Hastings, as already stated.

The situation was grave. Boigne must have been aware that, while, on the one hand, the British authorities were anxious to prop up the decadent Empire, they were, on the

* Memoirs of Jas. Skinner, by Baillie Fraser.

other hand, most reluctant to break with Sindhia, whom Hastings had for some time regarded as the coming man. For his own part, as an independent traveller, he had a perfect right to disregard the mandate of the British ruler ; and yet, at the same time, considerations of prudence and of gratitude alike forbade any action on his part which might add to the embarrassments of the Governor-General. Boigne took the wise course of returning to Calcutta, at whatever cost in money and disappointment ; and he joined the camp of Mr. Hastings, whom he found marching for the last time to Lucknow, and from whom he once more sought aid.

This prompt obedience was welcome to the much-vexed Governor-General, who was winding up his complicated and troublesome affairs preparatory to leaving India for good ; and was willing to befriend a man who could be so amenable. Taking Boigne as far as Lucknow, he once more dismissed him with credentials ; and the traveller proceeded to Jaipur, where he was well received by the Maharaja, who, nevertheless, to his own great detriment, declined his offer of service. By that time a British Mission had at last appeared at Dehli, under Major Browne ; and to him Boigne had recourse, on the recommendation of the departing Governor-General. Browne presented the wanderer to the Emperor ; but the latter, in his forlorn condition, would take no initiative, and contented himself with a recommendation to Sindhia, by this time completely successful at Gohad, and cantoned at Muttra, with an eye to further operations.

What was the attraction between these two able and ambitious men, we can only guess. Sindhia—as we have already seen—had a warm appreciation of European warfare ; and Boigne would probably discover this and adapt his persuasions to the foregone conclusion. By a strange coincidence, he now obtained—after all the toils and disappointments of his past years—the opening that he had so long been seeking, from the very chief whose rising star he had once refused to recognise. He was engaged by Sindhia to organise a force of two battalions of infantry, with a salary of Rs. 1,000 *per mensem* for himself and pay for 1,700 men and officers at an average rate of Rs. 8 a head to be appointed at his discretion. It was but a humble beginning ; but it was all that he could obtain—or, perhaps, expect, to start with.

Afrasyāb, the last Moghul obstacle, was removed by assassination, in October, 1784, in camp before Agra, where Mohamad Beg was holding out for terms. All the chiefs present at once repaired to the tent of Sindhia and unanimously voted him to supreme power at an informal durbar. He then repaired to Dehli, leaving the recalcitrant Beg in temporary occupation of

the Agra Fort. On arriving at court, he obtained a patent as Prime Minister, with a grant of the Provinces of Dehli and Agra for the support of his army, contingent only on his making a monthly provision for the Emperor's personal expenses and privy purse.

Meanwhile Boigne had accompanied a body of troops detached for the pacification of Bundelkhand, whence he returned in the spring of 1785. On the 27th of March the Fort of Agra was surrendered by Mohamad Beg, who was pardoned and taken into the imperial service; the palace of Dehli was guarded by a choice body of infantry, and Sindhia retired to his favourite cantonment of Muttra, where he remained until the following spring.

There proved, however, to be much left for Sindhia to do before he could finally establish his position, and M. de Boigne, in particular, found himself in difficulties that might have daunted many a hopeful spirit and did actually produce even in him a state of despondency which almost wrecked his career. The Moslem nobles were by no means reconciled to the rule of one whom they regarded as a Hindu upstart; and when, in straits for money, Sindhia took measures for overhauling the titles of their holdings, they began to stir under the fear of confiscation. Mohamad Beg took the lead in these discontents; and, on the outbreak of active hostility among the chiefs of Rajputan, went over to them with the bulk of his troops. In a great battle at Lalsaut, about 40 miles from Jaipur, the Beg was killed; but his place was taken by his nephew, Ismail Beg, soon to prove one of the boldest leaders of heavy horse then in the country. The new levies were led in this action by their Savoyard Colonel, but they were not of sufficient strength to do more than protect the retreat. Sindhia was now in a perilous way, cut off from his force in Agra—which was promptly invested—and menaced in his rear by an army of 100,000 brave Rajputs, who were, fortunately, too indolent to follow him with due promptitude. Throwing himself into the almost impregnable fortress of the Jats at Bhurtpore, Sindhia wrote to Poona for the help of a Mahratta army, and took steps for the augmentation of his regular forces under Colonel de Boigne.

Having at last digested their banquet of victory, the Rajputs advanced to renew the attack on Sindhia. Surprising one of his divisions under a Mahratta General, Ambaji Ingolia, they put it to flight, and compelled Sindhia to seek shelter in the fort of Gwalior: at the same time that Ismail Beg before Agra was reinforced by Ghulam Kadir, the chief of Saharanpore at the head of the Duab. Sindhia, having rallied his forces, sent the bulk of them, with the new levies, to raise the siege of Agra;

but they were once more beaten by the Moslems and driven back on Bhurtpore. Reinforced from Poona, he resumed the offensive; and, in a battle fought near Futtehpore Sikri, the new levies resisted the Moghul cavalry to such effect that the siege of Agra was at last raised, and the Mahrattas entered the fort which had been the bone of this obstinate contention.

But the Savoyard commander was by no means satisfied. Though he afterwards admitted that this time of trial had been the hour of Sindhia's moral greatness, Boigne did not yet fully believe in that chief; and he was further disappointed by the smallness of his force, the subordination of his standing, and the limits of the confidence reposed in him, generally. Accordingly he took advantage of the temporary lull, obtained leave *sine die*, and repaired to his friend, Colonel Martin, at Lucknow, with whom he entered into partnership in business pursuits. The Mahratta Chief and the European soldier had parted with reciprocal expressions of good will; Sindhia returned to his Muttra cantonment, and the quondam Colonel laid down his sword and devoted himself to the manufacture of indigo.

CHAPTER IV.

The absence of Sindhia from the scene at Delhi had tragic consequences; Ismail Beg and Gholām Kādir took possession of the capital, which they held for six months and pillaged without remorse or mercy. The palace and person of the sovereign were not spared; the poor old man being outraged, plundered, and deprived of sight by Gholām Kādir, who displayed a craze of greed and fury. The summer passed before Sindhia felt strong enough to help; it was not till the 11th of October that his forces appeared in sufficient strength to alarm the depredators. Ismail retired in good order, but his associate threw himself into the fort of Meerut, and stood a two months' siege. Being at last captured in attempting to escape by night, Gholām Kādir was put to death, and the Emperor restored to such dominion as could be held by a blind prince over a wasted Empire; for it is a remarkable instance of the tenacity of Oriental ideas, that this apparently hollow semblance still imposed on men's minds. De Boigne himself subsequently wrote of this period that "the respect for the race of Timur reigned so strongly that, although the whole of India had withdrawn itself from the imperial authority, not a prince within its borders claimed sovereign rights; Sindhia shared the feeling; and Shah Alam was always seated on the Moghul throne, while all was done in his name."

Such as this sovereignty may have been, it was the intention

of the Mahratta chief to shape it to his own use and profit. Though, constitutionally, nothing but a foreigner of distinction called in to administer a disordered State, he was, practically, Mayor of the Palace, plenipotentiary vicegerent of the Empire, and absolute master of the civil and military resources thereof. In this position he was beset on all sides. At Poona—notwithstanding a certain readiness to help shown in the late war—he was jealously watched by Nana Furnavis, the minister of the Peshwa. In Hindustan, although he had got rid of most of his Moslem rivals, he had still to be on guard against Ismail Beg and Najaf Kuli. Most of all had he to apprehend trouble from the Princes of Rajputana, Jaipur and the rest; those chieftains—if they could only form a compact and energetic union—could assail his unfinished army with overwhelming force.

The first thing for an able and resolute man so situated was evidently to augment and consolidate his military power; and, as a step in that direction, he forthwith sent a representative to Lucknow to invite the return of his Savoyard friend, to whom he offered something like a blank cheque, in effect the supreme command and free discretion. An offer of renewed employment on these terms Boigne could not refuse. Therefore, having, like a prudent man as he was, wound up his affairs at Lucknow, he left some of his investments in Martin's hands and placed others with good Calcutta firms, proceeding to Muttra about the end of 1789; and at once addressing his whole attention to military reform.

The regulars whom Boigne had formerly raised had become demoralised since his temporary retirement, and their Colonel—a Frenchman of bad character—had deserted with eight months' pay due to the officers and men—a sum equivalent to over £10,000 sterling. The soldiers clamoured for their arrears; Sindhia, on the other hand, was short of temper and disposed to charge the battalions with artillery and horse. The new commander, objecting to this extreme measure, was allowed to deal with the case at his own discretion; and accordingly, by a mixture of threat and promise, prevailed on the men to pile arms and parade bare-handed. They were then formally discharged, half their arrears paid up, and new engagements made with them on altered terms, the officers who had fomented the late ill-conduct being cashiered. Recruiting on a large scale was set on foot in regions where the best material was available; European officers and artillerymen were invited, and strong brigades formed. Each brigade was to comprise 4,000 regular infantry (armed with flint muskets and with bayonets); with at least two Christian commissioned officers in each of the battalions; there were to

be thirty-six field guns, with a European Sergeant-Major and five European gunners to each battery; there was also a small siege-train and a body of horse to protect the guns. This force—organised against all Oriental principles—was destined to a short but glorious career, and finally (being augmented by new brigades added from time to time) attained the respectable strength of 68 battalions, 427 guns, and 40,000 horse. Some notice of its later service and ultimate dissolution will be found on a further page.

For the present General de Boigne was at the head of a choice body of troops, chiefly formed of some 16,000 infantry; he was allowed Rs. 10,000 a month for his own pay; and the little army, secure of good treatment, followed its honourable chief under the white cross of Savoy. Lands round Aligarh were assigned for the pay of the officers and men, a promise being recorded that a gratuity should be bestowed on those who were wounded in action, with full pay all the time that they should be in hospital. Invalids were to have pensions on retirement.

Having done all that humanity and wisdom could suggest, the General took the field early in 1790 at the head of his New Model. Some hammering under fire might still be needed: but the steel head was at last fixed firmly on the bamboo lance, as opportunity was soon to show. The tempest that Sindhia had foreseen when he sent his unconditional summons to Boigne at Lucknow, was gathering in the south-west, where Ismail's new loyalty was giving way under the combined temptation of his own restless character and the attitude of the Afghans, who were beginning to move on the Punjab under Timur Shah, son of their famous leader, Ahmed the Abdālī. Ismail had been put in charge of a district in the Mewat country between Dehli and the homes of the Rajputs; and it was ostensibly as an ally of these Princes that he now adopted a hostile attitude. No sooner had he raised his standard, than disbanded soldiers, the debris of the old-fashioned armies, flocked to take service; and it was not long before the mediæval warfare of mounted men-at-arms was to be opposed to artillery and musketry, and squares with flickering bayonet points and flashing fire.

Pending the coming of the Afghans, the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur hurried to the aid of their Moslem ally; and Sindhia sent General de Boigne's legion, with a Mahratta force, under two commanders of that race, with orders to prevent the junction, at the same time employing a mixture of threat and promise to the Rajas. Early in May, 1790, the army reached Gwalior, about six weeks after, being mobilised at Muttra. The light armed Mahratta horsemen sent out as

scouts brought news, on the 10th, that Ismail was strongly entrenched at a place called Pātun, about half-way between Gwalior and Ujain. The Rajputs were at hand, when the imperial army arrived on the 25th and began to invest the place: but Sindhia's intrigues had already begun to sow mistrust between them and the Beg; and the Rajas took no part in the operations. Had they attacked the rear of the assailants and taken them between two fires, the result might have been different; but with Sindhia the head was always ready to lighten the labour of the hand and steel was not used when the end could be obtained by silyer. Disappointed by his allies and impatient at the confinement and scarcity of the entrenchment, the Beg broke forth on the 19th June. With trumpets and kettle-drums sounding, clad in chain-mail or plate-armour, the Beg's heavy cavalry charged down, repeatedly breaking the Mahrattas, and sabring Boigne's gunners at their posts. But the General and his officers kept their heads; the new infantry, reviving the ancient phalanx, resisted all attempts to ride them down with bristling bayonets and well-nourished fire. As the baffled horsemen retired, the General seized the critical moment to advance in line. Placing himself at the head of one of the battalions, he led his men into the entrenchment. There were three lines of defence; the first was carried with the impulse of the advance; the second held out obstinately and did not fall till 8 P.M.; the third yielded an hour later; then the mercenaries ceased their resistance; and the Beg galloped, almost alone, in the direction of Jaipur, where, for a while, he found a grudging refuge. He had lost all his stock-in-trade, one hundred guns, fifty elephants, two hundred colours, and all his baggage; on the following day a great body of his horsemen came over and were taken into the imperial service. After three days of open trenches the town was taken; and thus the small disciplined force—with but scant aid from the irregulars under Mahratta leaders—had broken down the last remnants of the cause of Moghul anarchy. De Boigne—who was his own war-correspondent—wrote a letter to a Calcutta newspaper in which he estimated the Beg's cavalry at 5,000, and attributed the result of the action to the firmness of his regular battalions, of whom he had with him about 10,000 bayonets, supported by several field-batteries, whose fire preceded his advance. He estimates the loss of his regulars at 592 killed and wounded. He says of himself: "I was on horseback, encouraging our men; thank God, I have realised all the sanguine expectations of Sindhia; the officers in general behaved well, to them I am a great deal indebted for the fortune of the day."

The indulgence of the Rajputs has already been noticed, and

we have seen how adroitly Sindhia—playing on that and other of their weaknesses—had neutralised their action at a time when it might have done him much mischief. But there was a leading man among them—old Bijai Singh, Maharaja of Marwar, or Jodhpur—who had a long-standing feud with Sindhia which he now attempted to make good. The Jaipur Raja Partab Singh had given offence to the Mahratta Minister by harbouring Ismail Beg ; and Bijai Singh acted on his fears to persuade him into a new combination. But when Sindhia, flushed with his late success, had sent a force into the Jaipur country, though it was only 7,000 strong, that body proved enough to keep the Raja in check ; the Beg was persuaded to go off to Multan, and the Savoyard General, having now only Jodhpur to deal with, entered the intervening lands of Ajmere, and captured the town of that name on the 22nd of August. Here he received a message from Bijai Singh complimenting him handsomely upon his victory at Patun, and offering him the town and district of Ajmere as a bribe to induce him to leave the cause of Sindhia and embrace that of the Rajputs. To an ordinary mercenary the proposal might have been temptation ; but the General was not a man to imitate the dog in the fable. With grim pleasantry he made answer that his master had already given him both Jodhpur and Jaipur ; why should he be content with nothing but Ajmere ? About fifteen days later, intelligence arrived that Bijai Singh was advancing to the relief of Taragurh, the lofty fortress of Ajmere, which the imperialists had invested. Leaving a small force to maintain the blockade of the hill, the General hastened to meet the Jodhpur army ; and presently learned that they had encamped under the protecting walls of Mirta, a town some 80 miles north-east of Ajmere. On the evening of the 7th of September he reconnoitred the position and found the Rāthors—to which great class the Raja and his subjects belonged—strongly entrenched in front of the town, whose walls gave complete cover to the rear of the camp. The ground rose in front ; and the strength of the place forbade a rash attack. Gopal Rao, the Mahratta General, did indeed urge an immediate onslaught ; but Boigne said : No ; the hour is late, the men are tired : let them have a good meal and go to sleep : there will be time enough in the morning.

Profiting by the wise and kindly thought, the Imperialists rested that night, while the Rāthors, on their side, spent the hours in rude and loud festivity. In the grey of the morning—when all at last had fallen into the silence of satiety—a French Colonel named de Rohan took out three battalions and crept up the slope, intending to surprise the Rāthors as they lay plunged in half-drunken sleep. But his approach was per-

ceived, and a sufficient number of the garrison were ready to drive out Rohan with loss. Trumpets sounded, the Rāthor horse-men threw on their armour and vaulted to their saddles; pouring out of the camp with reckless ardour, they fell upon the Mahratta cavalry, who tried to protect the retreating battalions. The light southern men and horses scattered before the shock, pursued for miles by Bijai Singh and his cumbrous cavaliers. But these latter, when the enemy had fled, turned their speed-spent chargers to ride back to camp; each side of the valley being by that time lined by the Imperialists. The foot were in squares, with field-pieces between; the Rāthors rode down a valley of death. The story went that four thousand saddles were emptied in the ride. Unfatigued and intact, the infantry of the New Model now became assailants in their turn. The battalions, deploying, advanced in line, supported by their field-pieces, and gradually rolled up the motley array of the Rajputs; by 3 P.M. all attempt at opposition had ceased. The whole camp, with munitions of war and vast plunder, rewarded the victors; the conflict of modern warfare with mediæval was decided in favour of science. The hollow-square formation introduced by the Savoyard may have been due to his own initiative or to recollections of the ancient tactics of the Romans; it was now established in Indian fighting, and proved as much of a success against the bold Rajput cavaliers as it was hereafter to become on the more famous field of Mont St. Jean.

The echo of this blow resounded far and wide. Timur Shah heard it in the Khaibar, and held back his barbarian hordes longing for the loot of India. It reached the Nana at Poona, causing him to redouble his intrigues against his distant but dangerous competitor. Still more did it stimulate the rivalry of Holkar, the immediate neighbour of Sindhia, who resolved to raise a force on the same lines as that which had won such victories for Sindhia. Meanwhile, General de Boigne, though much prostrated by months of labour and anxiety in an extreme climate, saw no prospect of repose. Taragurh, indeed, gave little further trouble, having capitulated in November, after the failure of Bijai Singh to relieve it; but the General marched at once on the enemy's capitals. Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Udaipur, all made their submission before the end of the year. To make more effectual the punishment of Jaipur—which had shown signs of meditating a fresh outbreak—the General imposed upon the Raja a fine of seventy lakhs of Rupees, in addition to heavy arrears of tribute due to the imperial exchequer; and marched upon Jaipur to enforce his demand. Partab Singh—the chief in question—saw the uselessness of resistance—after one more lesson—and so, con-

senting to the terms imposed, appointed a meeting in his capital for the ratification of the agreement. Those who have seen that splendid city may imagine the scene; the unclouded "cold weather" morning with cool breeze and brilliant sun; the wide street lined with orderly spectators; the Maharaja, issuing from his lofty palace-gateway, mounted on a richly-caparisoned elephant and followed by a cortège of mailed horsemen and many-coloured courtiers; on the other side the war-worn General, surrounded by his officers, and escorted by his bodyguard—or *Khas Risala*. He was welcomed with every mark of respect; the Maharaja took him into his howdah with a public embrace; and they entered the palace together and proceeded to the durbar-hall.

The negotiations being duly ratified, on a basis already settled, the General returned to his camp, and in due time departed on his return to the Duab. But a strange moment awaited him on the way. As he passed through the small Rajput principality of Macheri—now known as Alwar—he was invited to visit the Rana at his newly-acquired capital whose name has since been given to the whole State. Here he was received with much ceremony by the Prince, whose friendly sentiments, however, appear to have been by no means universal. As the General was sitting in full Durbar, on the right hand of the Rana, he saw that a follower of the latter was leaning over the back of the chief's chair engaged in earnest conversation with his master in an unknown tongue. The Rana made a gesture of disapprobation, while the vakil—or Secretary—of the General, turned as pale as his native complexion would allow: the conversation was, however, resumed, until the distribution of *pan* and *attar* gave hint that the interview was ended. The Durbar broke up, and as the General rode back to his tent, attended by the vakil, he received from the latter a startling explanation, namely, that the Rana had been considering a proposal for his—the General's—assassination. De Boigne was too wise a man to complain, and departed in amity from the Rana's territory; taking his head-quarters to Aligurh, the centre of the districts assigned for the pay of his legion. In 1792 the General conducted a short, but fierce, campaign against Holkar, to be described hereafter, overthrowing his new levies and driving him into Southern Malwa.

This was the termination of the short, but arduous military labours of the able Savoyard, who was now to be occupied, for the remainder of his stay in India, by the duties of civil administration. During the past two years he had done thoroughly all that had been required of him in the field, having taken two strong fortresses, won several pitched battles, and made his master the lord paramount of a region as wide as France

and Germany together. And this he had done with men hardly equal in native valour to his opponents and very inferior in number, by the force of his own character and the skill of his European subordinates. Of some of these a detailed notice will be taken further on ; here we need only remark that they must have been well chosen and well trained. We will now follow him into civil life, where we shall observe an equal degree of faithful ability.

Indian administration has now become an almost mechanical system, applied with fixed rules, conducted on quasi-scientific principles, and rewarded by considerable success. Peace and order are maintained, pestilence and famine are combated, and the sufferers relieved, justice is attended to, and revenue collected by legal methods. In the time of war and anarchy with which we have been concerned none of these arrangements were attempted ; and now that peace was being restored, all that the best-intentioned men could contemplate was a rough recovery of order in the desolated land.

Aligurh—now the designation of a British District—was a name then used exclusively for a fort hard by the town of Koil, half-way between Agra and Dehli, which had belonged to the late Afrasyáb Khan. Here the General established his headquarters, having his private residence in a house and grounds still known as Sahib-Bagh, on the road between the city and the fort. By virtue of his tenure he was to manage all the estates within the limits of his charge, collecting the revenues, and appropriating to himself any balance which might remain after paying the officers and men of his force, now consisting of 30,000 of all arms, divided into three brigades.* In practice he was Commander-in-Chief of the imperial army and supreme ruler in all Northern India. For the purposes of this great duty he had a number of European subordinates ; brigadiers and other officers, his old friend, Sangster, being in charge of the gun foundry. In the civil administration there were two departments, the Persian office, where the detailed business was transacted, and the French office, presided over by the General in person ; monthly statements were submitted to Sindhia's Council at Dehli.

The manner in which the General carried on these various duties has been set forth by an eye-witness :—

"I have seen him, daily and monthly, rising with the sun ; to survey his factories, review his troops, enlist recruits, direct the vast movements of three brigades (providing for their equipment and supplies), harangue in Durbar, give audience to envoys, administer justice, regulate the civil and revenue affairs,

* In theory the General's salary was Rs. 12,000 a month, with 2 per cent. on the collections.

hear letters from different parts, and dictate replies, carry on an intricate diplomatic system, superintend his private trade, examine accounts, direct and move forward a most complex machine" (Letter of "Longinus" in the *Calcutta Telegraph*). The same writer adds that the General employed no European to aid him in civil business.

Those who know what it is to work in the trying climate of India can imagine that the combination of so much public and private business in such conditions would tell upon the health of a European, now approaching the later period of life. De Boigne was now turned of forty years, more than half of which had been passed in toil, danger, and anxiety; he was very rich, as riches were then considered; and his thoughts, no doubt, often turned to home and rest. On the 12th of February, 1794, he lost his generous master, Mahadaji Sindhia, who died suddenly while on a visit to Poona. The estates and offices of the deceased devolved on his grandnephew, Daulat Rao, a young man of very inferior character and capacity, who remained in the Deccan, leaving the affairs of Hindustan to be managed by the General. That officer accordingly soon became the centre of intrigue. Offers on behalf of the blind old Emperor, and contrary offers from the new Shah of Cabul, failed to move him. For he declared that it was not for him to pronounce upon the destinies of the Dehli throne; he was in the service of the house of Sindhia; if he ceased to serve that house, he would cease to serve at all. The young Vicegerent was unwilling to part with so faithful and valued a subordinate; but the General became more and more bent on leaving India. Till towards the end of 1795 it appeared that, unless he did so at once, his life would not be prolonged. Thus he at length obtained indefinite leave of absence and left Aligurh for ever.

In February, 1796, he marched out at the head of his body-guard, and, after some months of vain struggle for recovery at Lucknow, finally reached Calcutta. During the General's stay at Lucknow*, the Nawab made an unavailing attempt to obtain possession of the splendid corps which accompanied the invalid: a body of six hundred Persian troopers, superbly armed, mounted and equipped, with a hundred camel-men on high bred animals, and a small battery of light guns, the whole of the property being owned by himself. It was eventually acquired, for the East India Company, by the then Governor-General, who paid a handsome sum to Boigne and gave liberal terms of engagement to the men. In January, 1797, the General, having wound up all his Indian affairs, finally left the port of Calcutta on board the Danish vessel "Cronberg," Commanded by Captain Tennant. A Calcutta journalist bore the fol-

* For some account of the General's health and of his uncertainty while at Lucknow, v. Appendix.

lowing testimony to his character :—" In his military capacity he softened, by means of an admirable perseverance, the ferocious nature of the Mahrattas. He submitted to the discipline and civilisation of Europe soldiers who till then had been regarded as Barbarians."

He was not only the greatest soldier of his class, but by far the most distinguished by benevolence and general ability.

CHAPTER V.

When General de Boigne quitted the shores of India he may well have looked upon himself as one of whom it might be said, " His warfare is accomplished." Although his actual service in the field had lasted only between five and six years, he had assuredly done a great work. In the civil department in which he had been exclusively engaged since he brought back his victorious brigades from Rajputan, he had laboured for an even shorter period ; yet it is the recorded opinion of a distinguished historian that he " made it possible for Sindhia to rule in Hindustan, at the same time that he controlled the councils of Poona. . . It was de Boigne who introduced into the North-West Provinces the germs of that civil administration which the English have since successfully developed." * Surely, a very remarkable record for any man to show, even if that man had been habituated and practised in either military or civil action, still more when he was a foreigner and little more than an amateur in both. He might well solace the tardy hours of a voyage round the Cape by anticipations of repose in a brief obscurity : as a matter of fact, a future of over thirty years was still before him, filled with honourable and useful occupation.

The passage was not, however, a long one, as things then went ; the *Cronberg* arrived in the Thames before the end of 1797, which had been a year of some excitement in London. The news had just arrived of the death of his old mistress, the Czarina Catharine—full to the last of those designs against Persia and India in which he had once been almost led to aid her efforts. The Spanish Government had declared war against the British ; and the men of the Royal Navy were choosing that moment to break into open mutiny ; blockading the mouth of the river and actually detaining merchant ships. The General, however, effected a landing, and was so welcomed in London that he made that foggy capital his social centre for some years. By and by, as things settled down in France, he transferred his head-quarters to Paris, where he married the daughter of a returned *émigré*, the Marquis d'Osmond ; but the marriage was not a success, and the General went on to his native land,

* Malletson, *Final French Struggles*.

where the King made him a Count and where he settled with his son. Whatever may have been his disillusion, it does not appear that they ever induced him to regret India, or to show the very least inclination to return to the land of his glory. In 1799 Sindhia wrote him a letter in which he courteously replied to one in which the General had sought the aid of his former master in some matters of private business :—"Since it has pleased God," wrote the chief, "since it has pleased the Universal Physician to restore to you the blessing of health, and having regard to our jealous impatience to see you again, it is your bounden duty no more to prolong your stay in Europe, but to appear before the Presence with all possible despatch. . . without your wisdom the execution of the greatest projects is entirely suspended." Come out, in fact, at once and by Bombay!

So wrote Sindhia, with much more to the same effect : but the bird was flown, and too wise to be caught by any chaff that could be thrown out from the Poona Chancery, where, indeed, matters were ripening in which our wary adventurer would not have engaged with a light heart. Of these we shall get a glimpse in a later chapter.

Meanwhile, we notice the General, not yet separated from his wife, frequenting society at Paris and rumoured—so Wellesley wrote—as much consulted by a still abler adventurer than himself, the general Bonaparte. After that great soldier had become Emperor of the French, and scourge of Europe, General de Boigne characterised his system of politics as "an usurpation abounding in iniquities;" nevertheless he may possibly have been asked for information about India at an earlier period and have given it, as the lawyers say, without prejudice.

In any case, he certainly left France for good ; but as certainly approved of the Restoration which relieved Savoy and other minor powers of much unpleasant pressure. Louis XVIII showed him attention, making him *Maréchal du Camp* in the French army, and giving him the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

He continued, however, to be a good citizen of the small provincial capital in which he had first seen the light. Thus, so late as 1822, he delivered an address to the Chambéry Municipal Council from which the following passages may be extracted to our advantage :—

"If divine Providence has deigned to crown with success the military career that I had embraced and long followed, it has at the same time loaded me with the gifts of fortune beyond my feeble talents, my endeavours, I will even say, my desires. Inheriting nothing from my father, owing all to God, I see my duty of recognition in seeking to assuage the

sufferings of humanity. . . . Accordingly I hesitate no longer to put in execution my long-studied project for the foundation of institutions for the relief of misery, and for the benefit of my fellow-citizens.

"Trusting, gentlemen, to your public spirit, I flatter myself that we may succeed in bringing into this town many beneficial changes whereby it may become more healthy, more agreeable to all, and at the same time more especially advantageous to those who, borne down by infirmities, too often perish for want of timely aid after enduring remediable trouble."

The Council promptly voted a suitable reply to this address, and gratefully accepted the truly liberal proposals of "General Count de Boigne." Nor was the National Government backward in acknowledgment; by order of the King, the bust of the munificent "Nabab" was executed in marble for the public library, and he was made Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and Grand Cross of the Order of S. S. Maurice and Lazarus.*

This was indeed a "Happy Warrior," who was not content with an unprecedented prosperity so long as he had not made his fellow citizens partakers of it. Among his benefactions to his native place have been enumerated:—

Extension of the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital by additional wards for sick paupers; an almshouse for forty aged persons of either sex; an endowed Mendicity-depot for one hundred paupers, with an asylum for pauper lunatics; a supplementary infirmary for those afflicted with infectious disorders, and another for travellers; these first, for the helpless and ruined adult. But the young were also cared for; there was an endowment for placing in life deserving children of both sexes, and an exhibition in the Royal College. A new Capuchin Church was built; the theatre was repaired at a cost of 60,000 francs; a new street, with a colonnade, was opened through the whole breadth of the town; two old streets were widened, and much-needed improvements were made to the public library and the Town Hall; finally, annuities were founded for the Academic Society, the Volunteer corps, and the Fire Brigade.

Thus no class of society, no department of life lacked the attention of the wise and benevolent veteran; and Chambéry might have said of him: If you would seek his monument, look round. What she did say was much to the same effect; the address of the municipality closed with these words:—

"You have foreseen all sorrows, to provide for each a cure; the unfortunate find in you support at every instant of their lives. Age reposes by the side of the tomb; and youth gains new wings for its ardour, deriving from a strong, pious and

* For a notice of the General about this time see Tod's *Rajasthan* 1,765: Col. Tod visited Chambéry in 1826, and saw him there.

skilful education the conservative principles of human society ; while your example inspires the fire of the noblest enterprises."

In the midst of these good works age stole slowly on the veteran. Colonel Tod, the historian of his old enemies in Rajputan, visiting him in 1826, thought him still vigorous. But in the following years his strength began to fail, and at last yielded to one of those light touches to which an octogenarian must be always liable. On the 25th of June, 1830, the *Journal de Savoie* announced his death as having taken place four days before. For two days every shop and place of business in the city remained closed ; the bells tolled unceasingly from every steeple while the body lay in state in the Cathedral, watched by the "Company of Noble Knights." The funeral was followed by the royal household ; the town-guard ; the Academic Society ; the Chamber of Commerce ; the Directors of the Hospitals ; the magistrates, aldermen, and notables of the city ; fifty of the General's tenant farmers, and a crowd of workmen, together with columns of troops, their bands playing funeral marches ; closed by numbers of clergy and the poor.

A few days later, the Academy offered a prize for the best biography of the deceased, which was, in due course, awarded to his son, Count Charles de Boigne. At the same time the Town Council made two public fountains in further commemoration, thus giving the dead benefactor a fresh means of that well-doing which had occupied his latest living thoughts.

Such was the retirement of this great Savoyard, at a time when his British contemporaries were spending their ill-gotten gains in idle ostentation and political corruption ; "raising," as has been said, "nothing but the price of fresh eggs and rotten boroughs."

In person Gen. de Boigne was tall and handsome ; the portrait prefixed to the Memoir by his son shows a fine head and projecting brow. The eyes and nose also are strong and prominent ; the shaven lips are firm and not too thin ; the lower jaw and chin are boldly squared. Like his great co-eval and patron, Warren Hastings, he was of temperate and scholarly habits, and well-versed in Latin literature ; he wrote and read several modern languages with ease and correctness ; his conversation, according to contemporaneous witnesses, was witty and graceful. Col. Francklin, an able British officer of those days, and at the time one of the most popular writers on Indian subjects, has recorded strong testimony in favour of his accomplishments :

It must be evident that, with the one exception of his not very successful matrimonial experiment, Gen. de Boigne is a singular example of human possibility.

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—KITTY KIRKPATRICK. ·

“ Captains and conquerors leave a little dust,
And Kings a dubious legend of their reign ;
The swords of Cæsars, they are less than rust :
The poet doth remain.”

WILLIAM WATSON.

THE immortality of Anglo-Indian heroines has become largely a matter of chance. We know something of Madam Grand, and something more than we did of Eliza Draper. Rose Aylmer's name is not altogether unsuggestive to the later generation ; and even Mr. Kipling has a chapter, charming to read, though wholly imaginary, concerning “ Lucia ” in the *City of Dreadful Night*.* But what of the bevy of unrecorded beauties who are consigned to oblivion ? Admitting that many a gem may lurk in hidden corners, we invite the assistance of all who take an interest in our design to bring them to light. The life of an Indian “ Settlement ” centred as much in its ladies as in their lieges ; and though historians have not taken such careful count of the fair sex, no person can so well re-animate the past which she adorned, as a faded beauty. It is well, therefore, that Miss Kirkpatrick should rise before us, and, ghost though she be, tell us what it is given only to ghosts to reveal.

“ Kitty ” is one of the most literary of Anglo-Indian celebrities. She was the original, so far as there was an original, of Blumine in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. The book is hard reading nowadays. We may make a concession to the ignorant, and describe it as a sort of philosophical romance, in which the author gives us, under the form of a review of a supposed German work on dress, and a notice of the writer, his opinion on things in general. Herr Diogenes Teufelsdröckh is the visionary pedant who is represented as devoting his lofty genius to the sublime philosophy of dress. Our modern world cares as little for the clothes-horse allegories of Carlyle as for the pot and pipkin philosophy of Omar Khayyam ; but the love story of Teufelsdröckh is an episode by itself. He meets his first and only love, Blumine, at an æsthetic tea party in the garden-house of Frau Gräfin Zähdarm. There she sat embowered in a cluster of roses,

* The original of “ Lucia lov'd shall still be Lucia mourn'd ” was no factor's wife, as Mr. Kipling would have her be : but was married to Robert Palk, the Judge of the Court of Outcherry, who in 1772 arrested the Maharajah Nuncomar for contempt of Court. She was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Stonehouse, and, as the inscription on her grave in South Park-street tells us, was born in Northampton (and not in Kent.) There is an elaborate engraving of the tomb of Lucia's mother in Dr. Hervey's well-known *Meditations*.

busied among the flowers and almost buried in them. She was a brunette ; young, hazel-eyed, beautiful, and somebody's cousin. We read of her as a many tinted radiant Aurora, the fairest of orient light-bringers, in very deed a Morning Star. Between Teufelsdröckh, "the wild seer, shaggy, unkempt, like a Baptist living on locusts and wild honey," and this divinity, an intimacy soon sprang up. Teufelsdröckh was made immortal by a kiss. But the blissful bonds suddenly part asunder. His Rose Goddess is whisked away to England as the bride of Herr Towgood in a gay barouche and four. The basilisk glance of that parting carriage seems to have almost withered up what little amount of purpose remained in our philosopher's mind. Shut out from hope, he apostrophises unbelief in his doctrine of the Everlasting No, only to decide that love of happiness is a vain whim. He can do without happiness, and, instead thereof, finds higher blessedness in the Everlasting Yea.

Woman is ideal. Women are not. The heroine of the Towgood and Blumine incident, which caused Teufelsdröckh to hiss over in such a deluge of originality, was an East Indian. In this circumstance lies her interest to us. Fechter made his Othello a half-caste. Carlyle found his Rose Goddess in Catherine Aurora Kirkpatrick, the daughter of a Hyderabadi begum and a Company's officer.

If *Sartor Resartus* is notable in the history of literature as revealing the Germanization of an English mind, the romance of James Achilles Kirkpatrick is still more interesting as illustrating the complete Orientalization of the Anglo-Indian character. His story is as fascinating as it is uncommon, and has all the old world setting of a tale from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, by which we mean, not the cargo of Moslem learning of the great Burton, but the immortal fairy book of one's boyhood. The State papers in the Foreign Office record this sentimental adventure at length.

Our heroine's father was the son of Colonel James Kirkpatrick, of the Madras Army, and was born in August 1764. His family, a branch of the house of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, lived at Keston near Bromley in Kent, and the sons were sent to Eton. They were three in number ; William, the orientalist, George, a Bombay civilian, and James Achilles, who, *more maiorum*, was destined for the Company's military service at Fort St. George. He landed as a cadet in 1779, and was invalided home within ten years, but returned in time to participate in the second campaign of the first war against Tippoo. We next find him at Vizianagram in charge of the local garrison, a post he soon relinquished for that of Persian translator with the detachment under the Nizam.

Here he continued, till the death of Lieutenant Stewart promoted him to be Assistant to his brother William, then Resident at Hyderabad. Early in 1797 William Kirkpatrick was compelled to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope for his health, and the charge of the British interests at the Nizam's Court devolved upon James Achilles. It was during his nine years incumbency of this office that he had the duty of negotiating three important treaties, by the most famous of which a British subsidiary force was to take the place of Raymond's French contingent. When, at the eleventh hour, Ali Khan wavered on being brought face to face with so great a renunciation, Lord Wellesley's agent proved himself equal to the occasion. In person, Kirkpatrick ordered the advance of Colonel Roberts and his troops ; whereupon 14,000 sepoy and 124 officers under Perron surrendered their arms without a struggle. The Governor General rewarded the Resident by making him his honorary Aide-de-Camp, a remarkable distinction at the time, for he was the first person on whom the honour was bestowed. Robert Home, the portrait painter, has incidentally brought into one of his State pictures a reference to this diplomatic triumph. His somewhat uninspiring portrait of the Marquess Wellesley, which hangs next to Dance's half length of Clive in the Council Chamber at Calcutta, represents the great proconsul resting his hand on a parchment scroll inscribed "Subsidiary Treaty, Hyderabad, 1798." The Governor General had indeed every reason to be grateful to his lieutenant. He was voted an annuity of £5,000 for a term of twenty years by the Court of Directors ; and the payment was ordered to date from 1st of September 1798, the day on which the treaty was concluded with the Soubahdar of the Deccan. One wonders how history would have shaped itself, if Lord Mornington (as he then was) had carried out his intention of superseding Kirkpatrick for "blundering," immediately before these events, and of substituting Arthur Wellesley in his place.

But it is not from his achievements alone as a soldier political that our eighteenth century Achilles derives his main interest. He shone no less in the lists of love than in the courts of diplomacy. Readers of border minstrelsy may remember the legend of Lord Bateman, a noble lord of high degree, who won the love of his Moorish^e captor's daughter. The courtship of Kirkpatrick by the Indian Begum reproduces, with additions and variations, much of the sentiment of this north-country ballad. Such was the thoroughness with which the Resident threw himself into his Asiatic surroundings that he altogether dropped his English name in his dealings with the Court. In the vernacular correspond-

ence he is known only as Hushmat Jung, the Magnificent in Battle. His inamorata was Khair-un-Nissa Begum, by interpretation, Excellent among Women. Whatever may have been the appropriateness of the high-sounding title in Kirkpatrick's case, it was certainly no misnomer in that of the lady. She was of the purest Persian descent, while claiming relationship from the Prophet himself. Her grandfather, Akil-ud-Dowlah, was the buxey (*bakshi*), or paymaster, to the English subsidiary force. The wooing was effected in truly oriental fashion. Kirkpatrick was sitting alone one evening when, to his astonishment, he was visited by one of those old women who play the part of match-makers in Eastern society. From her he learnt of the passion of Khair-un-Nissa, who had fallen desperately in love with him at first sight, as she watched him through the purdah during an entertainment in her grandfather's house. The Englishman at first repelled the advances made to him : but the princess would brook no denial. After repeated but unavailing overtures through her emissary, the girl at last resolved to take the matter into her own hands. A veiled figure was ushered by night into the Residency and pleaded her suit so passionately that Kirkpatrick's heart was melted. He must, indeed, have been more than man to hold out any longer. His own account of the fiery ordeal of that nocturnal interview is given in a letter to his brother William, then Military Secretary to the Governor General. "I who was "but ill qualified for the task, attempted to argue the romantic young creature out of a passion which I could not, I "confess, help feeling myself something more than pity for. "She declared to me again and again that her affections had "been irretrievably fixed on me for a series of time, that her "fate was linked to mine, and that she should be content to pass "her time with me as the humblest of handmaids." The voice of woman's pleading may find its echo in Western story, from classic Dido and the Heroides of Ovid down to the Juliet and Elaine of modern literature ; but the poetry of sentiment goes on unchanged in the East. It receives characteristic expression in this affecting tale of Kirkpatrick and his curtained sultana. There was for her, as there is for every woman, one man and one only in whose service she was ready to sacrifice all.

As may be imagined, the outside world stared and scoffed and blamed and understood nothing. The storm which followed upon Kirkpatrick's acceptance of the Begum's devotion was by no means confined to Hyderabad. Extraordinary charges, not only of bribery, corruption and murder, but of abjuring his religion, were levelled against him. The ears of the Governor-General in Calcutta were poisoned by Meer Allum, a former envoy of the Nizam to the Company, whose

grievance against Kirkpatrick was that he had once vainly endeavoured to influence him with a bribe. His covering letter to a sheaf of scandal, received on the 18th February 1800, runs as follows, in Neil Edmonstone's translation :

"I beg leave to transmit for your Lordship's perusal copies of certain papers of intelligence which I have received from Hyderabad since my residence here in the neighbourhood of Gooty. This conduct on the part of Captain Kirkpatrick has given me the greatest degree of grief and concern, for whilst the public talk upon the subject of the first accusation of the murder of Mahmood Ali Khan remains yet unstified ; should the second circumstance, that is, the marriage, take place, the public will obtain an extraordinary handle of conversation, and the former accusation will receive general credit. Such actions indeed are very unbecoming the character of representatives of so powerful a State as that of the Company, and accordingly with what dignity, respectability, and reputation did the former Residents conduct themselves ! So much so, that a similar accusation was never brought even against their servants. At all events, being sincerely attached to the Honorable Company, and considering it one of the obligations of attachment to communicate these circumstances, I have accordingly intimated them to your Lordship."

Lord Wellesley circulated these papers among his Council, and wrote off to demand an instant explanation from Kirkpatrick. A lengthy enquiry was held, with the result of completely clearing the Resident's character. The Nizam, in one of his intervals from cock-fighting, caused a declaration to be prepared under his hand and seal, in which he testified that Hushmat Jung was free from all suspicion of impropriety. Detailed reports, drawn up by the Residency moonshee, were submitted to Government and supported by evidence from noblemen of the Court. Akil-ud-Dowlah had himself been largely responsible for the story that the ministers had coerced his family into agreeing to the marriage, and that Hushmat Jung was taking his bride by force. But Shirf-un-Nissa, the Begum's mother, revealed how the girl had fallen in love and taken the initiative in the courtship. Kirkpatrick settled everything, for the time being at least, by solemnizing a marriage contract with Khair-un-Nissa in the *nikah* form known to Mahomedan law.

The storm, however, continued to rage for some time longer. There were scandal-mongers among the English officers, and more than one anonymous communication found its way to Calcutta. Wellesley went so far (it is said) as to send Captain, afterwards Sir John, Malcolm, with a commission to supersede Kirkpatrick if he thought fit. But Hushmat Jung

had no intention of allowing himself to be supplanted in this fashion. Malcolm was met at Masulipatam by the commandant of the Resident's cavalry escort. His explanation produced the desired effect, and the envoy returned to Calcutta with his errand unaccomplished. The Governor General's anger was not, however, completely appeased : and there is no doubt he was influenced in his attitude towards James Achilles by the very unfavourable opinion which Arthur Wellesley never hesitated to express concerning what he called the pompous and overbearing behaviour of the Resident. But, although Kirkpatrick never received any substantial honours or rewards from Government, his services were far too valuable to be dispensed with. Henceforth he was left in peace to live *con amore* the life of a Sultan at Hyderabad.

Of his magnificence in what was then, as it is still, the most Oriental court in India, we have a record in Mountstuart Elphinstone's diary for September 1801. Elphinstone and Edward Strachey were on their way from Calcutta to Poona, where the latter had been nominated secretary to Colonel William Kirkpatrick ; and it was only William's illness that prevented his joining their party. The two young civilians borrowed his cavalcade and spent nearly a year in the most royal state, roaming across the Peninsula. After a visit to Seringapatam, where their host, Arthur Wellesley, "as usual, *rowed* Hushmat Jung," they proceeded to Hyderabad and stayed there three months. Kirkpatrick describes his guests as "two superior young men passing through on their way to Poona." Here is Mountstuart Elphinstone's account of the European nabob.

"Major K. is a good-looking man ; seems about thirty, is really about thirty-five. He wears mustachios : his hair is cropped very short, and his fingers are dyed with henna. In other respects he is like an Englishman. He is very communicative, and very desirous to please ; but he tells long stories about himself, and practises all the affectations of which the face and eyes are capable." One of his tales was that his hookah-buridar, after cheating and robbing him, proceeded to England, and set up as the Prince of Sylhet, took in everybody, was waited upon by Pitt, dined with the Duke of York, and was introduced to the King. On the following day at dinner Kirkpatrick "talked with much pomp about the sources of springs, and with execrable taste about Homer," a sore point with Elphinstone, who had the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* at his fingers' ends, and used to spend hours in a cave reading the classics, which he carried with him in camp upon a special camel. His description of a presentation at Court helps one to realise Captain Grindlay's water-colour sketches of the cere-

monial visits between the Residents and the Nizam. "Went to the Durbar. Major Kirkpatrick goes in great state. He has several elephants, and a state palankeen, sixty horses, flags, long poles with tassels, and is attended by two companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry . . . Behind the Nizam sat the first man in the country, Shums-ul-Omra. There were many other people both sitting and standing. Among the latter were several women. Female sentries, dressed something like Madras sepoy, were on guard before the doors, and about twenty or thirty women were drawn up before a guard-room in sight.* Many women sat in the back-part of the room. Kirkpatrick behaved like a native and with great propriety." We may compare Heber's account of the French adventurers he met at Agra. "One of these Indo-Europeans is an old Colonel of French extraction, but completely Indian in colour, dress, language and ideas. I took the opportunity of enquiring in what degree of favour the name of the French stood in this part of India, where for so many years it had been paramount. I was told that many people were accustomed to speak of them as often oppressive and avaricious, but as of more conciliating and popular manners than the English Sahebs. Many of them, indeed, like this old French colonel, had completely adopted the Indian dress and customs." The famous Sir David Ochterlony was just such another specimen of a type which is rarely encountered in these modern days. To that doughty old warrior India was no land of temporary sojourn. The son of an American loyalist, he had come to the East without friends and literally fought his way to notice. When he shook hands with Heber in the heart of Rajputana, he had not left the country for fifty-four years; and, as he told his companion, who could wonder that he clung to the only place in the world where he could feel himself at home?

Kirkpatrick's residence was in every way in keeping with the man. His grounds were laid out, according to Elphinstone, partly in the taste of Islington and partly in that of Hindostan. He had persuaded himself that Eastern glamour gave real importance to the European in his relations with the native Courts and people, and his surroundings were accordingly on the most lavish scale. The British Residency at Chuddergahut, which forms one of the glories of Hyderabad

* The Nizam's harem of six hundred ladies was guarded by an Amazonian corps known as the Zuffar-pultan (regiment of victory). Like a similar body in the service of Runjeet Singh, they wore uniforms resembling those of the Company's sepoy, and could perform the manual and platoon exercises with great smartness, and deliver a volley with precision. They showed conspicuous steadiness in action on more than one occasion. Their representatives of to-day discharge the comparatively unexciting duties of State musicians, although they still occasionally act as sentries at ceremonial functions.

to-day, was erected under his superintendence and designed by Lieutenant Russell of the Madras Engineers, son of the well-known Royal Academician. A separate palace was built in the neighbourhood to serve the purpose of a zenana. It was enclosed after the Asiatic manner by high walls, the centre containing a large marble basin filled with water, and fed by numerous fountains, lined by stately cypress trees. The arcades and terraces around were ornamented in the richest style of Oriental architecture, with a profusion of delicate trellis work, painting and gilding. It is related that, while Kirkpatrick received his guests in the splendid public rooms of the Residency, their ladies were entertained by the Begum in the Rang Mehal: for such was the name given to the magnificent quarters in which she lived in the strictest seclusion. To-day there is no trace of any such mansion, and its ornamental pavilions, galleries and fountains have all disappeared. So recently, however, as the Residentsip of Sir Richard Temple, it was in existence, and is referred to in his Journals as a wellknown feature of the Chudderghaut buildings.

It is pleasant to record that Kirkpatrick's married life was as happy in its course as it was romantic in its inception. Two children were born of the union; a son, William George, who was killed by an accident just when attaining manhood, and Catherine Aurora. In 1805 the father's health broke down, and he was ordered a sea voyage. Advantage was taken of the journey to Madras to dispatch the boy and girl to England, and in the Calcutta Gazette of the time their names appear in a list of passengers for Europe "by a recent opportunity." This was probably the first occasion on which "Kitty" and her brother had exchanged their zenana names of Saheb Begum and Saheb Allum for those by which they were henceforward to be known. Before leaving India they sat for their portrait, to George Chinnery, the celebrated miniature painter. The picture was one of his first and most successful life-size efforts; and Sir David Wilkie, when he saw it some years afterwards, is reported to have said that he had not believed any living English artist could have painted such a likeness. As in the curious representation of a (so called) "Hindustani family," which hangs in the Bengal Asiatic Society's rooms, the children have an English look, but are dressed in Indian dress. They wear flowing robes of red and green; "their bare feet are in embroidered slippers; and their curly hair shows under their tightly fitting caps braided with gold." Khair-un-Nissa kept the portrait in the Rang Mehal art gallery till her death, when it was sent to England, and it is now in the house of Captain Phillipps at Torquay.

Kirkpatrick fell dangerously ill, on his way to Calcutta to

confer with Lord Cornwallis, and died a week after arrival at the house of his kinsman Charles Buller, in Chowringhee. For a modest fee, his last will and testament, written six months before his death, may be read in the muniment room of the High Court. It is well worth a study; for in it is revealed much of the affectionate character of this strange medley of East and West.

There is unhappily no trace of the tomb in North Park Street Cemetery, where he was interred with full public honours; but the beautiful monument to his memory in St. John's Church forms one of the most conspicuous of the many sights of that edifice. The old Cathedral is seldom visited now-a-days, although we are glad to see that the present Viceroy has set the precedent in the opposite direction. Like some City church in the heart of modern London, it lives and broods upon its past glories. The Kirkpatrick marble will be found in the south wing, adjoining the tablet to James Barwell, the son of Warren Hastings' colleague, and must be reckoned among the finest examples of the younger Bacon's art. Justice, poised a plummet, and Science, armed with a telescope, are the central figures in this group of statuary, and are represented as seated upon a plinth which upholds the funereal urn of the deceased. Justice claps to her bosom a cameo portrait of Kirkpatrick. At the side of Science appears, somewhat unaccountably, a full-wattled cock. Her hand reposes upon a pillar sustaining a statuette of an emblematic personage, notched all over with wounds. The cinerary vase bears the arms of the Kirkpatrick family between the masks of Vulcan and Mercury.* Space is found in the lower panel for a representation of Mother Ganges, who rests her hand upon the armorial shield of the Company. Behind this medallion rises a caduceus entwined with branches of oak and holly. At the base of the whole composition is a trophy of flags and military weapons.

It is a peculiar coincidence that Henry Russell, the secretary, and afterwards the successor of Kirkpatrick in the Hyderabad Residency, should have contracted a matrimonial alliance with a relative of Khair-un-Nissa. Russell's father was the Chief Justice of Bengal at whose mansion in Russell Street occurred the melancholy event recorded by the Calcutta Gazette of March 1800 in the following pathetic words: "On Sunday last at the house of her uncle, Sir Henry Russell, in the bloom of youth and possession of every accomplishment that could gladden or

* Readers of Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* will recall how Roger Kirkpatrick was the first to rally round King Robert the Bruce, on his return from striking Red John Comyn in the church at Dumfries. Roger gave the Comyn repeated stabs exclaiming "I'll mak' sikker." The family crest of a dripping dagger recalls the episode: and the seal with which James Achilles attested his will bears the motto "hæe made sikker."

"embellish life, deplored by her relatives and regretted by a society of which she was the brightest ornament, the Hon'ble Miss Aylmer."

"Kitty," more fortunate, if not so famous, was born on the 9th of April 1802. Even after all these years she is brought very near to us in Carlyle's full length likeness. "After an early dinner at Irving's house there drove up in a brave carriage a strangely complexioned young lady, with soft brown eyes and floods of bronze-red hair, really a pretty looking, smiling, and amiable, though most foreign, bit of magnificence and kindly splendour whom they welcomed by the name of "dear Kitty"—Kitty Kirkpatrick, Charles Buller's cousin, or half-cousin, Mrs. Strachey's full cousin, with whom she lived. . . . Amiable, affectionate, graceful, might be called attractive (not slim enough for the title 'pretty', not tall enough for 'beautiful'); had something low-voiced, languidly harmonious; placid, sensuous, loved perfumes; a half-Begum in short; interesting specimen of the semi-oriental English-woman. Still lives, near Exeter (the prize of some ex-Captain of sepoy) with many children, whom she watches over with a passionate instinct."

Exactitude should be the first merit of every author. The so-called Captain of sepoy was no other than James Winsloe Phillipps, an officer in the 7th Hussars, Lord Anglesey's crack regiment, and a member of one of the oldest West Country families. With him, Kitty probably lived far more happily than she would have with Carlyle, who doubtless realised in his own person all the sensations of Harry Esmond when he saw his divinity Beatrix wedded to plain Thomas Tusher.

Had it not been for the Bullers, Kitty must have stepped through life comparatively inglorious. Edward Irving, the truest, and most crack brained, of Carlyle's friends, was the medium of his connection with this Anglo-Indian family. During his course of preaching, which attracted half London to the Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden, Irving made acquaintance with two sisters, Mrs. Strachey and Mrs. Buller. Both were daughters of Colonel William Kirkpatrick, and his wife, *née* Pawson. The former, Julia, had married Edward Strachey, Elphin-tone's *compagnon de voyage*, and subsequently an examiner of correspondence at the India House, with James Mill and Thomas Love Peacock. Isabella Buller was the wife of the Bengal civilian at whose residence Hushmat Jung died. She had been the belle of Calcutta in her youth. Even so critical a genius as John Leyden made her the theme of his verse, as befitted one who was known on the banks of the Hooghly as "Titania," and had been compared for her stately beauty to Madame Récamier. Carlyle found her in 1822

a graceful, airy and ingeniously intelligent person of the gossamer type. According to Froude, she was Manichean by creed, and this peculiar religious belief made her all the more willing a listener to the exhortations of the prophet of the "Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church." To complete the oddity of the household, her husband was a Benthamite. He represented West Looe in Parliament for many years, and appears in *Sartor Resartus* as Count Zähdarm, best remembered for his quizzical Latin epitaph.

Fashionable Mrs. Buller consulted Irving as to the education of her sons, Charles and Arthur. By his advice they were sent to Scotland and placed under the charge of Carlyle, who, from the first, appreciated Charles as "a most manageable, cheery and altogether welcome and intelligent phenomenon; quite a bit of sunshine in my dreary Edinburgh element." But the philosopher's thin-skinned spirit gradually revolted against a life of dependence upon people of quality, with constantly unsettled plans and no definite outlook for himself. When Charles went up to Cambridge to air his political talents at College and at the Union, in friendly rivalry with Praed and Macaulay, Carlyle parted company with him somewhat abruptly, though the attachment between the pupil and teacher was really destined to be lifelong. It is interesting to follow up the career of Carlyle's two school-boy friends. The elder brother afterwards became famous as one of the leading liberal politicians of the first Reformed Parliament. There is an affecting allusion to his loveable character and early death in the epilogue to Thackeray's "Doctor Birch and his young friends." Carlyle poured out in the columns of the *Examiner* a poetic tribute to his memory. Macready, his teacher in elocution, Macaulay, Harriet Martineau, Grote, and Monckton Milnes, unite in bearing testimony in their autobiographies to his philanthropic career and his brilliant ability. Bulwer Lytton eulogizes him in the following words in his poem of "St. Stephen's": "Farewell, fine humorist, finer reasoner still, Lively as Luttrell, logical as Mill." Arthur, the younger, achieved distinction as a lawyer, and was a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in the fifties. He must not be confused with his namesake and predecessor in the Court, Sir Anthony Buller, who lived and administered justice some thirty years earlier.

After leaving the Bullers in a pique, Carlyle found his way to Dover, where the Stracheys, Irving and his wife and Miss Kirkpatrick were staying. By the persuasions of cousin Kitty, a holiday trip to France was decided upon. Edward Strachey, Carlyle and Kitty made up the party, and returned home sated with wonders. They had many adventures and many droll

experiences, and the journey made, "copy" in more than one. Kitty is responsible for the statement that the "Centre of Indifference" chapter in *Sartor Resartus* exactly reproduces certain moods of Carlyle's touchy temper during his visit to the French Capital. Every topographical detail of the tour he remembered with the tenacity of steel, and his impressions of that twelve days' sojourn always remained with him. These recollections proved of singular service in after years, when he came to write the history of the French Revolution. Paris was the most kaleidoscopic picture of human life which had yet presented itself to his view.*

Forty years later Carlyle muses retrospectively as follows : " It strikes me more than it did then that Mrs. Strachey would have liked to see dear Kitty and myself together, and continue near her both of us through life." It is only just to Blumine to say that, upon seeing this passage in the *Reminiscences*, she strongly repudiated any reciprocity of its feeling. The Anglo-Saxon temperament is notoriously cold, and prone to ridicule anyone who has the audacity to be not strictly according to sample, and it is probable that Kitty's foreign sensibilities rendered her more sympathetic than others towards such an individuality as Carlyle's. She was an East Indian of the type best summed up in the French euphemism "un peu tintée," and it was precisely her un-English proclivities that charmed Carlyle and drew from Jane Welsh, his future wife, the following sarcastic commendation—"Kitty with £50,000 and a princely lineage and 'never was out of humour in her life'. With such a singularly pleasing personality you could hardly fail to find yourself admirably off." It is difficult not to read between the lines, and suspect the existence, in past time, of many Platonic passages between Carlyle and this sympathising "half-Begum." Here is one tell-tale allusion in a letter to James Carlyle, written in 1825. "The young Miss Kirkpatrick is a very pleasant and meritorious person—one of the most kindest and most modest I have ever met. Though handsome and young, and sole mistress of £50,000, she is quiet and unassuming as a little child and busies herself with nothing so much as with discharging the duties of hospitality to us all." She seems, however, to have been sadly wanting in the bump of reverence ; for Carlyle adds that her sense of humour was everlastingly being aroused by the extravagances of the gaunt enthusiast Irving, who sat for the dialectical marauder, Philistine, in *Sartor Resartus*, and is there recorded as having

* Another and more permanent connection of the Kirkpatricks with France has manifested itself in an unlooked for way in the person of the Empress Eugénie. It is not generally known that the beautiful Mlle. de Montijo's mother was descended from the uncle of the first baronet of the Closeburn family.

been more than once discomfited by the silvery tongued Blumine.

From love there is a natural sequence to death. Kitty's life, that had such a brave commencement at Hyderabad when the century was in its infancy, ended with an "abi in pace" in 1889. She died on March 2nd of that year at the villa Sorrento in Torquay, and her death passed without comment in the newspapers of the time. As recently, however, as 1892, her identity with the beloved of Teufelsdröckh was established by her relative George Strachey, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, while *Blackwood's Magazine* of the following July printed an account of Hushmat Jung's marriage from the pen of Sir Edward Strachey. But there are many gaps in the family papers, and a vast mass of information may still be derived from a perusal of contemporary records in the Calcutta Foreign Office, where the yearly bundles of secret correspondence lie girthed with ropes like so many State elephants.

It is not without a kind of tender sentiment that we should speculate upon such a career as Kitty's, as we follow her from the cradle to the grave. There was a novel once, in which the second heroine was an Eurasian. But this book is long since forgotten; and the half European beauties of India, interesting as they are, if only as a contrast to the fair daughters of England, have still to find their chronicler in more permanent literature. Some of us may recall the medieval legend which represents Saint Thomas of Canterbury's mother as a Saracen Emir's daughter converted to Christianity by love of Gilbert Becket. The interest which this story inspired at the furthest end of Christendom is a curious token of the extent to which the imagination of men, alike in East and West, can be fired by a noble character. But there is all the difference in the world between hero-worship and heroine-worship. Kitty's virtues were domestic, not heroic. We may be content to remember her as the strangely complexioned beauty who obtained such a mastery over the intellect and affections of Carlyle.

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ART. IV.—BROWNE'S RELIGIO MEDICI.

(INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

FEW books possess greater charm owing to the interest they create in the personality of their authors than the *Religio Medici* of Sir Thomas Browne. As we read the book, we can imagine the living man standing before us, sweetly communicating to us the innermost workings of his heart and mind. This personality in art has, however, a two-fold interest. It is not always that we are enraptured by the marked traces of the author's individuality impressed upon his work. We are deeply interested, *e.g.*, in a writer like Carlyle; but, while, in his case, the powerful invectives against political institutions and characters and against social cant awaken applause by revealing the active struggle of the multitudinous forces at play in the writer's mind, Sir Thomas Browne has all our sympathy as, one after another, he makes confidential confessions on matters of faith, in a manner that could hardly be imitated. While the weapons of fierce ridicule hurled at Sir Jabeah Windbag and Dryasdust vividly present to us the Teutonic spirit (if so we may call it) in Art, the candid confessions of the Norwich physician on matters of faith remind us of the delicate touches of Hellenic Art. To the one we give our admiration; to the other our heart.

A study of Sir Thomas Browne's work is especially useful as being a key to the religious thought of the XVII Century. A certain tone of optimism pervades the whole, which strengthens the reader's heart at every fresh perusal; one might turn to it in a moment of sadness, and be cheered. It is a balm for the afflicted, as somebody characteristically said of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, which, however, was composed under very different circumstances. As one turns over the pages, he cannot restrain the desire that our author had joined the Church; as Ruskin's father said of that great art critic, "he ought to have been a bishop." Browne starts with an allusion to the low estimation in which the class of physicians is held by mankind, whose general belief is that a doctor has no religion. He might, indeed, have shuddered had he known all the uncharitable things that have been said of his humane brethren by people of all ages in all lands; but fortunately no Dr. Witkoski had then revealed to the world "the evil that has been said of Doctors." Johnson, who wrote Browne's life, incriminated a member of the class (Dr. Sydenham), in the following striking terms: "That a man eminent for integrity practised medicine by chance, and grew wise only by murder, is not to be considered without astonishment." Browne, however, passes this "Vulgar Error" with the assurance that he

has a religion as truly as any other good man. He is a Christian, and of the reformed Church ; yet he wants us to know from the beginning that he has no prejudices. He can tolerate all. This avowal of a spirit of toleration at a time when Europe was convulsed with religious persecution is, to say the least, remarkable. "Persecution," he characteristically observes, "is a bad and indirect way to plant religion ;" and mankind might have been spared innumerable throes had this advice, so often given by the nobler teachers of the race, been followed. Browne seems to be no more conscious of the chaotic mass of human agencies tearing one another "like dragons in the slime" in the cause of God, than the peaceful dove under the green bough's shade is of the fury of the surrounding storm. In fact, the time at which the book was written was pregnant with causes that were to engender results too vast to be foreseen by the actors in the political drama. Events were in progress which were to launch a king into war with his people, and drag a monarch from the throne to the scaffold. Yet the contemplative physician seemed supremely unconscious of the great flood that was eventually to cover the face of the land.

Toleration, then, is the first thing Browne claims credit for. He could worship anywhere, and in any house of God ; he would say, like the mystic Senai :

"The words wherein Jehovah is addressed,
Of Syriac tongue or Abree, let them be ;
Jehovah's mighty temple, let it be
Or Mt. Bulká or further Mt. Bulsá."

He can reason patiently with any of the numerous divisions into which Christianity was unfortunately then dissected. He has travelled over the Continent, known Catholicism in the lands where it is devoutly professed, and can kneel down to the material cross without being misguided in his devotions. He would not run to the opposite extreme, and join hands with those mystics who would dispense with visible substance altogether, and be ecstatic with the vision of the divine Beatitude. Nor could he exclusively embrace the outward forms of religion like Hejaz's mother, when she prayed for her son, falling before the besiegers of Mecca : "O God, save my son. Every day of his life he has scrupulously performed his prayers five times, and every Friday he has been to the mosque :"—nor would he scorn, like Persian Sufis and Indian Yogis, to enter an earthly house of God, and ridicule the external semblances of faith,—but would, like the wise man of old Hellas, observe a golden mean between the two. He can tolerate the Frenchman, his hereditary enemy. He is at home everywhere, unlike Wordsworth, who longed for home when he

"Travelled among unknown men
In lands beyond the sea."

He sums up his creed of toleration thus: "In brief, I am averse from nothing. . . or so at least abhor anything, that we might come to composition." With this ideal of toleration may be compared the following striking passage in the *Avesta*, where good men, of any creed whatsoever, are praised: "Then we praise the souls of the pure who have ever been born, men and women, whose good laws one honours, will honour, and has honoured. Then we invoke the good men and women." Yaçna, 31, 5-7.

The nature of the theological disputes in the first half of the XVII Century was, however, so far from pleasant, that we might be pardoned a little scepticism as to the entire truth of even our author's statement. If we go through the book with a mind not always passive, but prepared to differ wherever necessary, this scepticism will, to a degree, be justified. For although there is no passage to which we might point as betraying impatience of hostile or rival sects of Christianity, instances are not wanting of the same generous forbearance being withheld from other religious systems or modes of thought. In the second part he himself admits intolerance of another nature. He is intolerant of the multitude, and the debased gentry which he cannot distinguish from it. But so is Carlyle impatient of the mob, and so had Shakespeare ridiculed the rabble in the person of Caliban according to one school of critics. Regarding, however, his remarks as to the unworthy gentry, which savour of a bitterness not usual with him, one is tempted to ask, was this bitter attack of our gentle physician the result of any personal sting? It is not in the most respectable historians of England that we read of Charles I's nobles as "men in the same level with mechanics, though their fortunes do somewhat guild their infirmities, and their purses compound for their follies." In fact one is, from the tenor of the entire passage, tempted to ask, whether he is not referring to the corrupt practices under the first two Stuarts, to the spurious nobility whose creation by James was an excellent stroke of business, and the monopoly of an unworthy minority, which his unfortunate son promoted? While condemning the evils of the age, he falls into the pleasant error of the poets in extolling the pristine innocence of man, an idea which has been up-rooted by the researches of modern sociology, and which Shakspeare is supposed to have ridiculed by the creation of the brute Caliban, who might have stood up and proclaimed to Utopian predecessors of Rosseau, "your primitive man walks on four legs as well as on two."

However that may be, let us come at once to those points of faith wherein we believe our author does not display his professed forbearance. Of the Koran he speaks in terms which would do credit to the most bigoted Missionary. He is, indeed, conscious of the inconsistency he is falling into, and seeks to excuse himself by assuring us that he "speaks without prejudice," thus reminding us of the old adage, "he who excuses himself, accuses himself." He summarily disposes of the Koran as being a stupid mixture of fictions, vanities, and inconsistencies. Undoubtedly the Koran was not intended to bear the strain of nineteenth century, or even seventeenth century, criticism. A few passages, *e. g.*, seem to favour the doctrine of predestination, while others teach the freedom of the human will. The greatest merit of the Koran is, however, that it was a wondrous product of the age; being a masterpiece of human wisdom for the times. Whatever faults it possesses are due, not to its originator, but to his successors, who stereotyped a law which should have been progressive with the expansion of the nations of Islam. As to the inconsistencies of the book itself, again, it is manifest that other scriptures, Christian included, are not free from a similar fault. Does not Browne himself tell us that it rather strikes him as odd that our first parents should have tasted of the fatal fruit when no tree could have grown in the absence of rain? What he next goes on to say is, however, still more improper. Islam, he says, is held up by "the Policy of Ignorance, deposition of Universities, and banishment of Learning." Truly, a narrower view of a sister-religion was never taken. It may only be briefly remarked that Browne's manner is a type of the way in which the West has generally repaid its intellectual debt to the East. The man who had said that he could pray with the Turk (*i. e.*, Moslem) and for him, now turns fiercely on him and proclaims him an enemy to human culture. Now, was it not, we may be allowed to ask, the Arabs who founded seminaries of learning, ransacked Greece for her philosophic treasures, translated the subtle Aristotle and the "divine Plato," invented, as the very names of these sciences import, algebra and chemistry, first established the science of political government on a rational basis in the East since the days of the last great monarchy, and, in a word, held up the torch of learning to illuminate the chaotic darkness of Asia, of which the rays reached the further West, and kindled in men an enthusiasm to break the fetters which had so long chained their intellect? Was it not the Moors who, during their regime in Spain, introduced those delightful stories which still surpass all the fairy tales of Europe? Was it not the Arabs who gave to the world the inheritance of the enchanting

tales of the Thousand Nights and one Night? If, on the sack of Constantinople, classical scholars were banished, which appears chiefly to have excited Browne's wrath, did they not find a home in England and her sister lands, and were not the Turks thus the unconscious protectors of the cause which they appeared to check, by bringing about the revival of letters? Was not this in itself a gratifying circumstance? Far different, however, was the loss which Arab lore suffered at an earlier period through religious enthusiasm from another quarter, and the latest book on Islam, written by a learned professor of that faith, Mr. Justice Amir Ali, contains insinuations much stronger against Christian crusaders than any which Browne here seeks to prove against the Arabs.

We may notice another singular instance of this intolerance. The author of "The Three Imposters" is denounced as the "Villain and Secretary of Hell," and Browne advises that thereof "common Heads must not hear, nor more advanced judgments too rashly venture on." This is a strange piece of dogmatism. Because somebody spoke evil of the heads of religion, the best way to deal with him is to put him down with the sheer force of public opinion. Now, unless we consider that "Villain's" arguments, and meet the same, not with brute force, but stronger reasoning, how can we be said to have dealt justly with our opponent or ourselves? If Browne's suggestion were carried out, freedom of thought would be checked, individuals would be afraid to avow their opinions, nothing would be uttered but what might be in strict conformity with public opinion; in a word, liberty of thought would be strangled. It is evident that a state of society in which men would be systematically required to turn hypocrites, is far from desirable. Opinions should be regarded as true because they have not been disproved in spite of every available opportunity being given for their refutation; not merely because their professors assume them to be such, and close the door on all hostile argument. History furnishes us with many instances of the loss to civilization resulting from such intolerance, which always assumes the form of persecution unless where the class of "heretics" is too powerful, numerically or otherwise, to be so treated. Happily, however, the loss is only temporary; the onward step in reform being delayed by a few steps or ages. Thus the Reformation was really suppressed a score of times before it finally commenced in Germany; among the latest pre-Lutheran preachers being the Lollards and the Hussites. Socrates drank the chalice of death before an intolerant crowd, but his philosophy soon asserted its strength, and reigned supreme. Christianity was persecuted, and the Redeemer put to a cruel

death; but its professors, though not the first numerically, are now foremost in progress. Far be it from us to doubt the goodness of Sir Thomas Browne's motives in impeaching the author of the "Three Imposters." It is only the principle that we are contending for, and a very important principle it is. If Truth will triumph in the end, why be afraid of meeting an adversary's arguments, refuting them, and thus achieving the ultimate victory of the cause?

Talking of fame, Brown wisely regards it as of no consequence when the short period of human life is considered. Nor is posthumous fame a desirable end: he would like his name to be recorded only in the great book of God. When, however, the saintly writer of the *Religio Medici* is contrasted with the flesh and blood physician at Norwich, we are surprised to find that he was not free from the ordinary failing of his race. He allowed himself to be knighted on Charles II's visit to his native town; and regard for his reputation made him rush hastily into print to correct the unauthorised editions of his book, which, he protested, were full of blunders. Far nobler was the monks' disregard for posthumous fame which Disraeli has commemorated in half a dozen lines; two men who wrote worthy histories of their religion, leaving the world for ever in the dark as to their names.

Browne talks lightly of marriage, and would fain put aside this inconvenient ceremony. Not that he would break the trammels of custom and convention, like Shelley when he joined his Mary; but he is of opinion that mankind would have been the happier in the absence of any such form as marriage. He would fain procreate like the trees, if he could. Yet we can hardly suppress a smile at this profession of extreme abstemiousness in the light of the subsequent story of his life. He married, and had ten children. In fact, Browne's statements are always to be accepted with a certain degree of reserve, for though he is never consciously deceiving us, there is in his style a certain admixture of humour which makes him so lively, while his imagination places him, according to a learned American critic, next only to Shakespeare.

This humorous treatment of the gravest topics is one of the most puzzling problems connected with such a devotional book as the *Religio Medici*. That he could say the most humorous things in a serious strain, and yet with no less effect, may be judged from the following reflection about Death. "If the devil could persuade me I will not die, I would not outlive the very thought." This vein of humour in the writer is to be kept in view if he is to be defended against the charge of vanity which critics have levelled

against him. I am charitable; I have no antipathies, or national repugnances; I am framed unto all; I can study or sleep in a tempest,—such boasting would, in the opinion of any man, hardly seem to be in good taste. But, as Mr. Leslie Stephen sensibly remarks, if we are to debar an author from a humorous expression of things which he does not quite intend to assert, we should have to condemn some of the most delightful books in literature. Besides, it should be remembered that the *Religio Medici* was not originally intended to meet the public eye, and it was only by a strange accident that it got into print. Many things which would seem vain if said in public would hardly be so if imparted confidentially to a friend.

Browne speaks of his great fortitude. He can lose an arm without a tear, and allow himself to be racked without moving a muscle. Yet he must have been aware that "there never was philosopher that suffered the tooth-ache patiently." Shakespeare was aware of human infirmities, and would endow none of his stoics with superhuman or unnatural qualities. In the Teutonic play of "King Lear," the old monarch exclaims in horror,

"Let me not be mad,
Sweet Heaven, I would not be mad."

Whether Browne, who compliments himself on his strength of sufferance, could have been patient under the blow, when, though moral convulsions had deranged his intellect, it was yet active enough to comprehend the mischief, as in the banished king of Saxondom,—would, indeed, be an interesting psychological problem. But, as we have said, he must not be taken too literally.

Praising, as is the instinct of all devout men, his own form of belief, Browne extols the Bible as the masterpiece of human wisdom, and, what is more, as the most ancient book extant in the world. It is not our purpose here to enter into a discussion as to the relative merits of the Bible, though it may be remarked, in passing, that modern critics, especially German, have pointed out its scientific errors, and convinced us of the absurdity of a universal deluge, thus upsetting the theory of the great antiquity of events recorded in the Old Testament. The arguments against Noah's Deluge, excellently summed up by Bishop Huxley in England, and independently repeated by Mr. Samuel Laing, may be chiefly classified as geological, anthropological and botanical; while, on the other hand, the researches into the ancient inscriptions of the East have induced archæologists to subscribe to a theory of various local floods rather than a universal deluge. (cf., e. g., the Chaldaean poem of "The Deluge" recently deciphered and published by the British Museum authorities).

In the second place, we may certainly question Browne's bold statement as to the Bible being the oldest of books. He, indeed, makes his position secure by the previous admission: "I believe, besides Zoroaster, there were diverse that writ before Moses, who notwithstanding, have suffered the common fate of time." Any cautious man would have hesitated before pronouncing all Ante-Christian Scriptures to be lost; for it might easily have occurred to him that circumstances, absent in his own age, might arise later, which would lead to the discovery of what to him was unknown. So great, however, was the ignorance of the West regarding the East, its people, and their institutions, that men could hardly repeat the names of the prevalent religions or the inhabiting nations. For instance, "a great part of Zoroaster's book" is not lost, as Browne supposes. Had he lived later, he might have gone through the translations and editions of Anquetil, Westergaard, and Yeldner, and informed himself of a faith started in Persia probably long before Moses' time, whose followers, scattered over the world, still number about a hundred thousand. Browne was similarly deceived in the supposition that other scriptures, written before the Bible, were lost. The age of the Pentateuch is popularly placed at B. C. 1732. Considering, however, the tendency of modern criticism to lessen the fabulous antiquity of national works and monuments, this date would fall short of the age which Sir William Muir assigns to the Brahminic Vedas, B. C. 1000-1500. Scriptures, again, are not merely those written upon papyrus, parchment or paper. The world's most marvellous scriptures have been inscribed upon the living rock; and, in this sense, the hieroglyphic records of Egypt, still not lost to us, are the oldest scriptures extant.

Having pronounced the Bible to be the best of books, our author proceeds to condemn most other "rhapsodies," since "of the making of books there is no end." He would have a general synod of learned men to examine the merits of all books that have been written since the days of Solomon the wise, and ruthlessly reject those that cannot stand the test. He would abolish, at one stroke of the pen, that large class of men who support themselves by literary experiments.

"We do too narrowly define the power of God," he warns us, "restraining it to our capacities. I hold that God can do all things; how He should work contradictions I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny." He has defined Nature as "the settled and constant course" of things created, any swerving from which is a miracle. He is convinced that God can and does change the pre-arranged order whenever he finds it necessary, for "to the Hand of God all things are of an equal facility." Such superstitions, cherished in an age when science

had not advanced beyond the fairy-land that lay at its threshold need not surprise us. Yet in the light of modern criticism we may simply ask, how, in the first place can miracles be authenticated? who witnesses them? What evidence is there that the original witnesses, if actually traced, were not deceived by their senses? If, having beheld what they supposed to be a miracle, they found the same phenomenon repeated a second time, there would be a strong presumption of its authenticity. Since, however, miracles, from the very nature which their advocates claim for them, cannot be repeated, this method of testing their authenticity would be futile. On the other hand, the narrations of popular miracles ordinarily reach us after passing through a series of media, receiving all the accretions or modifications that individual fancy suggests. The *possibility* of a miracle is one of the first problems that presents itself to a searching intellect on its entrance into the regions of faith. Its absurdity, as demonstrated by Tyndall and J. S. Mill on scientific and logical grounds, is referred to above; while Hume's famous *a priori* argument against it may be supplemented by Little's argument, adopted by Renan and Huxley, "that no evidence equal to the facts alleged has been forthcoming." It is true that Newman tries to make out a case for miracles in his *Essay on Assent*; but some of his premises are very doubtful, while his assumptions are open to dispute. Thus it will not be readily conceded that miracles "are the only means by which He can reveal Himself to those who need a revelation;" whereas secular history might be successfully appealed to for the refutation of the following: "That they were from the first accepted as true by large numbers of men against their natural interests; that the reception of them as true has left its mark upon the world as no other event ever did; that, viewed in their effects, they have—that is, the belief of them has—served to raise human nature to a high moral standard, otherwise unattainable." . . . Miracles, however, may be assailed with the very weapons which their advocates have used in their defence. The authority of the Scripture itself has been adduced to prove their impossibility in one respect. "He sendeth His rain on the just and the unjust, and He makes His sun shine on the good as well as the evil." If, then, no distinction is observed between the various classes of mankind, how can it be held possible, that the prayers of the pious can change the intended course of Nature for the benefit of an individual, or a section of humanity? Miracles, then, have no rational basis. The evils of a too critical examination of Faith, however, which invariably leads to scepticism, should be safeguarded against by what may be termed concrete religion.

Salvation, says Browne, is to be had only through Christ; "which makes me much apprehend" he says, "the ends of those honest Worthies and Philosophers which died before His Incarnation." Out of this grave topic he creates some fun by a characteristic touch of his humour. "What a strange vision will it be to see their poetical fictions converted into verities, and their imagined and fancied furies into real Devils?" Even the wise and virtuous Solomon is not to be excepted (if we may carry out the assertion to its logical end) from this general condemnation. On the preceding page Browne has said, "God is merciful unto all, because better to the worst than the best deserve; and to say He punisheth none in the world, though it be a paradox, is no absurdity." Here is an awkward self-contradiction into which the advocate of God's great justice and greater mercy has fallen. But the fallacy is deeper. He has previously asserted that God predetermines the time of every man's birth: "There is a secret glome at the bottom of our days; it was his wisdom to determine them." Thus, then, those who died before the nativity of Christ are to be damned eternally for causes over which they had no control. Hence, it would appear, God's logic is not better than his justice. Browne evidently shrinks from this difficulty, and preaches to us later on that this curious specimen of God's justice is not to be inquired into, nor the Divine Law to be interpreted literally, since "to define either (God's justice or mercy) is folly in Man and insolvency even in the Devils." Conscious of being defeated on this ground, Browne, in a carping spirit, attacks the pre-Christian philosophers, the general course of whose life was, however, more virtuous than that of many Christians. Here is his own unconscious testimony: "Surely the heathen knew better how to join and read these mystical Letters than we Christians, who cast a more careless eye on these common Hieroglyphics, and disdain to suck Divinity from the flowers of Nature." He charges Diogenes with vanity: "Diogenes I hold to be the most vain-glorious man of his own time, and more ambitious in refusing all Honours, than Alexander in rejecting none." That poor Diogenes should be charged with vanity because he despised honours, is a little puzzling. If this was *ambition*, it was a noble one. One might as well charge Browne with "ambition," because he sought God's favour by practising virtue.

Coming to the inorganic nature around us, Browne says, it is a universal Bible wherein man may read the goodness and power of God.

"Those," says he, speaking of the heathens "that never saw Him in the one (the written Bible) have discovered Him in the other." This is all very well so long as it is treated as the

mere product of poetic imagination. But when we descend to facts, we find that it stands the test of neither reason nor experience. Browne would fain identify himself with that noted school of human thinkers who look to nature for a perfect code of moral laws, which man may follow and be everlastingly blessed. He would hold up Nature as a grand preceptress of virtue and whatever is good, and exhort men to study her and do as she does. Yet what are the teachings of the history of the earth and of human progress? Why do floods arise and sweep away the guilty and innocent alike? Have not volcanoes erupted destructive rocks without notice, and lava streams burnt up peaceful villages with their agricultural pursuits? Have not furious hurricanes created sand-hills wherein to bury the unwary and helpless travellers of the desert? Has not the earth shaken with violent commotions, and ruined in a moment the labours of a thousand years, destroyed Ninevah and Babylon in their ancient glory? Truly, if we carefully examine the working of Nature's four elements, we shall not seldom find her indulging in a round of cruel deeds which none could imitate without being liable to the extreme penalties prescribed by the criminal laws of every intelligent society.

In one sense, however, this eulogy of Nature may be received as completely true; for her outward daily phenomena have helped to build up the primitive mind, whose workings are repeated in that of the modern poet. "Unlike the ordinary consciousness, the religious consciousness is that which lies beyond the sphere of sense;" in these words Mr. Herbert Spencer, the greatest of modern synthetic philosophers, defined the origin of all human religion. Hence it is that man, in his infantine stage, trying to respond to what he has felt of the unseen world, uses sense as a medium to reach the supernatural. This commencement of the necessary humanisation, or, still more broadly animisation, probably lies at the root of whatever is known of mythology, fetish worship and nature worship; and has given rise to two antithetical schools of philosophy,—Max Müller and his philologists with their favourite Solar Theory, Herbert Spencer and the anthropologists with their critical theory of Ancestor Worship, based on scientific grounds, and supported by many facts of undoubted historic authenticity. The study, then, and examination of the rival claims of the expositors, of this first dawn into which our ancestors emerged from the darkness of primitive barbarism, becomes one of the most fascinating subjects in the history of human progress.

The invariable law of progress has been the conversion of the simple into the complex, of the homogeneous into the

heterogeneous. Primitive man has evolved the scientist, the philosopher, and the poet; for he was all these in himself. Carlyle said, in his own forcible way, that around the islet of each man's life runs for ever the ocean of eternity; primitive man saw as much, and his belief in immortality was the reason of his deification of departed sires. Wordsworth's heart leaped up at the sight of the rainbow in the sky; primitive man rejoiced at this likewise, and, in Sept Sindhoo, built up the beautiful mythology of Indra and his celestial host. Tyn-dall, the scientist, was enraptured with the gorgeous sunsets in the Alps; the primitive man, in his Lake Dwellings, beheld the same, and further beheld in them the presence of gods and goddesses. Hence the emotions of primitive man, answering the ideas of eternity that were roused in his mind at the manifestation of all that glory around him, raised a splendid pantheon to the memory of gods and goddesses, and departed human beings.

This humanisation, animisation, or incarnation, which is the leading trait of the primitive mind, has a double phase. It is, in the first place, the animisation of mental effects or of phenomena in Nature, the invention of gods and goddesses,—we shall not here pause to discuss whether these, according to Spencer, are immediately suggested by human events, or, according to Max Müller, by a mere desire to give a concrete form to what cannot be conceived in the abstract. Secondly, it is the body, the *substance* given, not to the spirit in Nature, but to the spirit in Man. The poets in whom a revival of this two-fold primitive habit has been the most marked, are Wordsworth and Tennyson in England. Wordsworth gave a body, as it were, to whatever effects he marked in Nature; and in this he simply revived the ancient practice of creating gods and goddesses. A remarkable instance of this is the passage in the prelude in which the too active imagination of the boy sailor endows every surrounding object with a life peculiar to its own, while the silent precipices ring aloud with echoes, and the stars in the firmament wheel round them. In Tennyson, again, sorrow in the human heart, gives all external Nature the appearance of a phantom to the surviving friend:

“The stars,” she whispers, “blindly run;

A web is wov’n across the sky;

From out waste places comes a cry,

And murmurs from the dying sun.”

In the infantine stage of science during the first half of the XVII Century, it is not to be expected that Browne could have entered into any very minute examination of the causes and courses of things. Analytic science was then a good deal mixed up with the credulous physics whereon the astro-

logers and alchemists of the mediæval ages had wasted their energy ; and Browne's "Vulgar Errors" is a fair specimen of a museum of heterogeneous objects, in which the most interesting things are without distinction mixed up with things suited by their oddity to please the childish fancy.

Discoursing on Creation, the learned Doctor defines it as "a production of something out of nothing." Have we not here the chief point of disagreement between science and theology? Has it not now been well demonstrated that natural species are not spontaneous productions, but the ultimate results of a painful process of evolution during the course of ages? We can no longer subscribe to the fanciful doctrine of "nothing, out of which were made all things ;" nor agree with Avicenna, who, in his *Shefa*, conjectures, on grounds that appear to him strong enough, that the world was destroyed several times, and objects of Nature spontaneously created as often. We may, however, congratulate ourselves that the master mind of Shakespeare had already comprehended the great law of creation, and his stupendous genius grasped the truth that

"Nothing will come out of nothing ;"

(KING LEAR).

while the judgment of his compeers was enshrouded by the misty superstitions inherited from rude ancestors?

And what is the end of Creation? According to Browne, "God made all things for Himself, and it is impossible He should make them for any other end than His own Glory." What a selfish end ! one is disposed to exclaim. What follows is still more objectionable. We are gravely assured that if we for a moment bring ourselves to believe that this was not the true end, we "may justly provoke God, not only to repent that He hath made the World, but that He hath sworn He would not destroy it." This is simply a reflection on God's wisdom, which, he has before told us, is beyond doubt. For did not God foresee the possibility of man refusing to pay Him homage? If He did not, He was not wise ; if He did, and still created man, He is not Almighty, for He must fret over man's disobedience, and not be able to help it except by punishment. Browne is nicely tossed here between the horns of an awkward dilemma, and we may leave him to effect his escape as best as he can ; remarking, by the way, that this anthropomorphic tendency, necessary in the infant stages of society to rouse men's fears by picturing God as a powerful oriental Sultan, becomes useless and even mischievous in the later periods, by diverting men's minds from the contemplation of a creating Intelligence.

Browne wonders how men should so "destroy the ladder

and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of spirits." He recognises that Nature does nothing by leaps; and hence, consistently enough, places the class of spirits between man and God. Of spirits, there may be both good and bad; guardian angels and evil genituses: "I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason do what we cannot, without study or deliberation;" and he believes many such things about them. We can concede him these his cherished beliefs; they are all so harmless. But when, with mistaken zeal (albeit he has disavowed it, in the commencement of the work), he proceeds to examine the nature of evil spirits, of their illicit intercourse with human creatures and inspiring witches; and, not content with laying down on paper the wicked motives and illegal lives of that much abused class of witches, was the indirect, though, unwilling, instrument, of the burning alive of two poor women, Amy Dunny, and Rose Callender, in 1664, it is hard to believe the physician's religion was free from mischievous bigotry. In this mistaken belief, however, we can charge Browne at the utmost with not being in advance of his age, for many learned men then conscientiously asserted the existence of witches, and believed they could demonstrate it. It is well known that James the Pedant, who allowed himself to be styled the British Solomon, wrote a fantastic treatise on witches and witchcraft, persuading himself at least that he had satisfactorily demonstrated the existence of both.

Our author is of opinion that length of days on earth is not to be desired, never to be anxiously prayed for; since age doth but increase vice. Is not there, however, the counter-probability of our discarding vice and imbibing virtue with every year of fresh existence, and varied hopes and fears? of our profiting through

"Years that bring the philosophic mind?"

Would it not be cowardly to escape life because therein we are exposed to many temptations, rather than boldly face it? We may meet Browne with his own words: "Where life is more terrible than death, it is then the truest valour to dare to live."

Browne proposes a very prosaic criterion of beauty, which, he says, is proportionate to the utility of the part of the object in question. In this sense nothing in the world is ugly but unnatural; exactly as Ruskin would call those arrangements in art *ugly* which were not faithfully imitated from Nature, or were contrary to it. He cannot truly understand "by what logic we call a toad, a bear, an elephant, *ugly*; they being created in those outward shapes and figures which best express the actions of their inward forms."

Browne's statement that his life "is a miracle of years" seems to have puzzled his critics. Dr. Johnson fails to see what miracle there is in the ordinary prosaic life of a physician, who visited a country or two, and took his degree in the ordinary course of things; and explains it by a stretch of fancy, that in one sense "all life is miraculous." Southey insists that the miracle was his preservation from being converted to other religions during his travels. We might believe, however, that Browne was in fact making use of his medical knowledge, and tacitly referring to the manifold causes by which life may in an instant be destroyed,—by our hidden enemies, e.g., the bacteria; by epidemics or plagues, or by natural causes beyond human control as floods and fires. Thus, he tells us: "That there was a Deluge once, seems not to me so great as that there is not one always." And, in another place, "Surely there are in every man's life certain rubs, doublings and wrenches, which pass awhile under the effects of chance, but at the last, well examined, prove the mere *Hand of God*." Happily, moreover, Browne in another place further explains his assertion as to his life being a miracle: "It is in the power of every hand to destroy us, and we are beholding unto every one we meet, he doth not destroy us," where, however, in showing his pious gratitude for the watchfulness of our Father who is in Heaven, he unwittingly incurs the charge of denying one of the greatest blessings of civilisation, the individual's right of self-preservation and protection against injury from other members of society. The feeling, however, with which he can kneel down and pour forth his gratitude to the Supreme Being, is in itself worthy of admiration and imitation.

Every created thing, says Browne, is in the image of God. The least object, as in the religion of the poets' School of Nature, chastens our affections. He might, indeed, exclaim:

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

And man is the noblest object of Creation. He would say, like the Delphic oracle, "Man, know thyself," and agree with Pope in the opinion that

"The noblest study of mankind is man."

He, moreover, concludes, and rightly enough (if arguments may be built on fictions of faith), that the first sin would never have been committed had this maxim been preached and followed in Paradise; that Satan, Professor of Evil in the School of Eden, would never have seen his way to lecture on the properties of the Tree of Knowledge to his simple pupils, Adam and Eve. Browne's precept has, indeed, a wider mean-

ing than he intended, or was disposed, to assign it. The recent researches into the pre-historic condition of man have brought a multitude of interesting and valuable facts to light, and was it not on this ground that the great Darwin patiently worked for years, elaborating his theory, of the origin of species through the principle of natural selection? But Browne, in his age, could hardly have dreamt of this point in the flood-tide of science. He, however, talks like a clever physician when he speaks of the human microcosm: "We carry with us the wonders we seek without us; there is all Africa and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that studies wisely learns in a compendium what others labour at in a divided piece and endless volume."

Everything thus bears marks of a Divine Creator. He might, indeed, have struck a deeper chord on the poetic harp and adopted the creed:

The being that is in the clouds, and air,
That is in the green leaves, among the trees,
Maintains a deep and reverential care
For the unoffending creatures whom he loves "

But he would not go to the length of asserting, like the Sufi, that God is everything and everything is God; nor by any means risk sweet life by exclaiming, like Mansoor Hellaj, in an ecstatic state, "Behold, I am God."

Some of the finest lines Browne ever wrote are on the ideal character of human friendship and love. "I have often thought," he says, "those noble pairs, and examples, of friendship not so truly histories of what had been, as fictions of what should be; but I now perceive nothing in them but possibilities, nor anything in the heroic examples of Damon, and Pythias, Achilles and Patroclus, which, methinks, upon some grounds, I could not perform within the narrow compass of myself." Coming to the mysteries of true love, he says: "Therein two so become one, as they both become two," *i.e.* two friends are united into one, each of them living for himself and the other." Further: "United souls are not satisfied with embraces, but desire to be truly each other; which, being impossible, their desires are infinite, and must proceed without a possibility of satisfaction." This identification of each friend with the other, of the total merging of duality into the union of both hearts, or, in a word, the utter loss of self, is the characteristic feature of Sufi Philosophy, appearing repeatedly in its poets; where the lover is not distinct from, but one with his beloved, *i. e.* the devotee is in the embrace of Allah, the One, till he finally develops the faith—

"That each, who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and, fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general Soul."

The entire poetry of the Mahomedan Sufis bears witness to the existence of this faith ; and the works of Saadi, Hafez, and the Molla of Roum, abound in examples of the same. Thus, in the Masnavi, we read :

"Since we are not of the same species as Our King, ourself is destroyed for the same of His self. When our self is destroyed, He remains unique ; I am the dust before the leg of His horse." (Book, II).

In the famous Sufi episode, the weary traveller knocks at the door of his friend's house. "Who is it," asks the voice from within. "It is I," replies the traveller. "Then go thy way," continues the voice. There is another knock ; again the same question, and a similar answer. For the third time the beseeching traveller knocks. "Who is it ?" asks the voice. "Dearest friend, it is thyself," is the reply. "Then come in." Not, thus, till the sighing *Sālek* loses sight of his individuality, does he find himself in the arms of the Divine *Yār*.

This ideal of true love, of love of the spirit, as distinguished from that of the sense, has been happily commemorated in English poetry by four great men ; the occasion in three of these cases being the death of a beloved friend, which, far from terminating the earthly love, revealed its true depths. The first of these is Milton's elegy on Lycidas, wherein the poet, who is the Shepherd, bewailing his lost friend, Edward King, cries,

"What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,
The Muse herself, for her enchanting son,
Whom universal nature did lament ?"

The second is Shelley's *Adonais*, wherein the poet gives vent to his deep love for his young friend Keats, the romantic story of whose premature death is the subject-matter of the song. In each of these poems, however, the personality of the author is vague, and must be looked for beneath the surface ; for the classical model of Milton entails certain restrictions, while in Shelley's poem the predominant feature is the imagery and scenery of that ultra-sensual world to which his genius sometimes took flight. Of a very different character is, however, Tennyson's "*In Memoriam*," wherein he mourns the death of his friend Arthur Hallam, dearer to him than all other things of the earth ; for there the personality of the poet is always present, ready to claim our sympathy, as when he speaks of the cherished union of his spirit with Hallam's after death ;

"What time mine own shall also flee
And build with thine in love and fate,

And, hovering o'er the dolorous strait,
To the other shore, involved in thee,

Arrive at last, the blessed goal."

Lastly, a supernatural affection for a male friend, and we are in the dark as to his personality, has been immortalised by Shakespeare, the sonnets being, in this respect, the most beautiful of their kind in English literature. : So deeply seated was this love, that Tennyson takes it as his own standard, when he exclaims,

"I loved thee spirit, and love, nor can
The soul of Shakespeare love thee more."

It was a love in the singing of which the poet exhausted all the resources of his art, and which itself yet remained unexhausted, that which was the inspirer of whatever was noble in his work.

"How can my muse want subject to invent,
While thou dost breathe, that pouist into my verse
Thine own sweet argument?"

Had Sir Thomas Browne chosen, he could have written an excellent prose-poem on the subject matter of this ideal love which is not of the earth, wherein heart speaks to heart,—a love that the vulgar can never know of.

The *Religio Medici* concludes with a prayer to Heaven, that its author may die as peacefully as Marcus Aurelius, of whom it is recorded that "he died as in sleep." "Were I of Casar's religion, I should be of his desires, and wish rather to go off at one blow, than to be sawed in pieces by the grating tortures of a disease." So had Mahomet said: "I swear that a thousand beheadings are better than one death-bed." And it is gratifying to see that the euthanasia he prayed for, was granted to him, and he died a peaceful death.

The *Religio Medici*, as a literary composition, is much akin to the pious Meditations of the Roman Emperor, but a striking parallel in oriental literature may here be mentioned. The parallel is not merely as regards the subject-matter, but the individuality of the authors. Both were physicians by profession, and both left treatises on matters of faith. In either, we have the confessions of an inquisitive spirit on the most essential points of religion. Browne's work was "a private exercise directed to himself, what was delivered therein being rather a memorial unto *him* than an example or rule unto any other." Ten centuries before he wrote, Barzoozeh the physician, was sent by Nooshirvan, King of Persia, (the *Kesrā* of the Arabians, the *Chosroes* of the Latins) to India to secure and translate the *Hitopodesha*. The difficult task was completed, and the grateful monarch desired to make the learned man gifts of

treasure. But Barzooyeh refused all riches, seeking rather to perpetuate his memory by prefixing to the Pehelvi translation an account of his own opinions on matters of faith; confessions which may be read in the Arabic version of Abdallah Ibn al Mukaffa with a sense of a striking resemblance especially to the commencing portions of the Religio Medici.

ART. V.—VASCO DA GAMA'S VOYAGE.

"THE JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA BY SEA TO INDIA IN THE YEAR 1498."

(Continued from January 1899 No. 215).

ON March, 3, ⁽⁷⁶⁾ we arrived at S. Braz Bay, where we took large quantities of anchovies, sea calves, and penguins, which we salted down for sea stores. We sailed again on March 12. When we had got some ten or twelve leagues beyond this watering place, a violent South Wester came on, which drove us back to our anchorage in the bay. When the weather changed, we again set sail, and Our Lord gave us such good winds that on March 20 we passed the Cape of Good Hope. Those of us who had got this far were all well and jolly, though, at times, half dead with cold, as we fell in with violent South Easter winds in these parts. We thought, however, that we found the cold so trying because we had come from such hot countries and not because the cold was great in itself, so we went on our way, eagerly desiring to reach home, and ran before a fair stern wind, which held for seven and twenty days and brought us well up with the Island of St. Thiago.⁷⁷ When we came to lay off our position on the charts, we found, indeed, that we must be within a hundred leagues of it, and some even thought that we must be close in to it. Here we got becalmed, and the little wind we could find was only gentle land breezes; so, as we wished to find out where we were, we ran on before the cat's paws which came down on us from the land. On Friday, April 25, we found bottom in thirty-five fathoms. During the whole day we steered on the same tack, but never got a less depth than twenty fathoms and could not make the land. The sailing master told us we were on the Rio Grande Banks.⁷⁷

[Here Alvarez Velho's narrative breaks off, for some unknown reason; but the story of the remainder of the voyage may be told in a few words. It is summed up, as follows, by the first Portuguese editors of the Manuscript.]

"It will be seen that the "Roteiro" ends abruptly on April 25, 1499. Shortly after this, Nicholas Coelho's ship became separated from that of D. Vasco da Gama, whether accidentally during a storm or otherwise, is uncertain. Some say that Nicholas Coelho, who knew that his caravel was the

⁷⁷ St. Thiago is the chief Island of the Cape Verd group, still Portuguese. It is now a famous coaling station.

"The Rio Grande Banks" are those off the mouth of the Rio Grande, the principal river of Portuguese Guinea, which enters the sea South of Cape Verd between the Senegal and the Roquette River of Sierra Leone.

faster sailer of the two, resolved to push on in front of the admiral so as to gain the reward for the Discovery of the Indies. We cannot pretend to finally settle the question as we have no materials for doing so, although we cannot but think that the abrupt conclusion of the "Roteiro" looks very suspicious, especially as it seems probable that the author was transferred to the Berrio, which was commanded by Nicholas Coelho, after the destruction of the *S. Raphael*. We should say that only the minority of Portuguese historians attribute sinister motives to Coelho, as the majority state that the ships became accidentally separated during a storm, and add that, when he reached the Bar of the Tagus and found that no tidings of D. Vasco da Gama had been received, he wished to put out again in search of him, and was prevented from doing so only by express orders from King Manuel. Why, however, if this was the case, did not Nicholas Coelho put into one of the harbours in the Canary Islands, if the vessels became separated before they reached them? In the original instructions these islands had been designated as the general rendezvous for the expedition, should it become scattered on the voyage out, and it is probable that these instructions were also intended to hold good on the voyage home.

"It is, in any case, well known that Nicholas Coelho reached the Bar of the Tagus on July 10, 1499, and that D. Vasco da Gama, whose brother Paulo da Gama was very ill when they reached the island of S. Thiago, handed over the command of his vessel, on his arrival there, to his Secretary, Joam de Sa, and chartered a caravel that he might make a quicker passage to Portugal. He went round by the Island of Terceira,⁷⁶ where his brother died, and only reached Lisbon in the last days of August or first days of September 1499.

"On his arrival he was received by the Court with the greatest ceremony, and splendid festivals and popular rejoicings were held in his honour. King Manuel wrote circular letters to all the principal cities and boroughs of Portugal to announce to them the Discovery of the Indies and to recommend them to hold religious services and processions as a thanks-offering to God for His great mercies.

"The King did not forget to reward D. Vasco da Gama for for his most distinguished services, and all his companions also received from their sovereign's bounty gifts suitable to their several positions and deserts.

"Documents discovered by the Vizconde de Juromenha, the well known editor of Camoens, in the Archives of the Torre do Tombo, clearly prove that King Manuel did not show himself by any means ungrateful to the man who had done such splendid services to Portugal.

"An hereditary annual revenue of three hundred milreis⁷⁸ was settled on Vasco da Gama and his heirs. It was secured on the Royal tenths of the fisheries of Sines and Villa Nova de Mil Fontes, together with the Crown dues and Court Fees of Santiago de Cacem, and on a charge of seventy milreis⁷⁸ payable out of the Palace of Madeira at Lisbon. He received the title of Admiral of the Indies, with all the rights and privileges of an Admiral of the Crown of Portugal, and was granted permission to send one venture annually to the value of two hundred cruzados⁷⁸ free of all customs and dues whatsoever, except five per cent. to the Order of Christ,⁷⁹ by the India fleet. The title of "Dom" was conferred upon himself and upon those of his brothers and sisters who were named in the patent of creation, all of whom, with their posterity, were to take the surname of da Gama.

"The preamble of the grant recites that it had always been the intention of the Portuguese Court since the first expedition of discovery was sent out by D. Henry, the navigator, in 1433, to find out the sea way to India, so that the trade in spices might pass from Moorish into Portuguese hands. It is specially noted that the Rio do Infante,⁷⁹ eighteen hundred and eighty-five leagues beyond Cape Bojador,⁷⁹ which had been the point from which the first explorers commenced the work of discovery, was the furthest point which had been reached previous to Vasco da Gama's voyage. It had been discovered by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486. This diploma is dated Lisbon, January 10, 1502.

"Besides this, Vasco da Gama received many other grants and pensions; so we can give an emphatic denial to the tradition which represents King Manuel as having paid him with three letters, that is, with the title of Dom. He was subsequently created Conde da Vidigueira, an estate which he had obtained by exchange from the Duke of Braganza; and a salary.

⁷⁸ Milreis 300=£67-10-0. Milreis 50=£11-5-0. Milreis 70=£15-15-0. Cruzados 200=£22-10-0.

⁷⁹ The 5% or "Vintera" had been reserved by Prince Henry the Navigator to the Order of Christ, of which he was Grand Master, as a perpetual tax on the profits of the India Expeditions, in consideration of the fact that the Revenues of the Order, which had succeeded to the possessions and influence of the Order of the Templars after they had been suppressed in Portugal, had borne all the expenses of all the expeditions fitted out for the Discovery of India. All Portuguese ships, including D. Vasco da Gama's squadron, which sailed beyond Cape Bojador, sailed under the Flag of the Order of Christ and not under the Royal or National colours.

"Rio do Infante," which had been discovered by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486, is now Great Fish River in the Cape Colony. Cape Bojador the "Bellied Cape" so called from its shape, a "rounded hummock," was the furthest point of the West African Coast known before Prince Henry's expeditions. It is a promontory of the Sahara.

was attached to his office of Admiral of the Indies. In fact, within a short time, he had grown so wealthy that the King wrote to him for a loan to defray the expenses of a fleet which he was sending to India.⁸⁰ Many, indeed, accused him of being anything but disinterested in his conduct, but we cannot allow such a shadow to rest upon da Gama's glory. Nicholas Coelho also received a generous recompense from the Royal Bounty in the shape of a pension of fifty milreis,⁸¹ payable out of the Palace of Madeira at Lisbon.

"Such was the history of the Discovery of India. Within a few years afterwards D. Manuel found himself the lord of a mighty empire in the East. Almost all of it that is left to the Kings of Portugal to-day may be summed up in their empty title of "Lords of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India and of the Ocean Sea."

Yet, when Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, almost all the African and Asiatic world which lay beyond the boundaries of the Mediterranean, with some of the richest territories of South America, were under the flag of Portugal. That they were lost, was not due to men who breathed the spirit which inspired King Manuel and D. Vasco da Gama.

FINIS.

An appendix, which is attached to the original MS. of the "Roteiro" and which appears to be based chiefly upon some reports obtained by Alvarez Velho at Calicut, may be interesting as showing the nature of the information which D. Vasco da Gama brought back with him from India, and as giving some details as to the spice trade, which loomed so large in the eyes of the men of the Fifteenth Century. In the Portuguese edition the appendix bears the following heading:—

APPENDIX.

"The following appendix appears in the Manuscript of the "Roteiro." It was apparently drawn up by Alvarez Velho, and is headed, as under":—

The names here below set down are those of certain kingdoms which lie to the southward of Calicut, with the principal

⁸⁰ This was the fleet of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral which left Lisbon for Calicut in 1500. On his voyage out he discovered Brazil.

⁸¹ The "Mecca Ships" were, of course, those owned by Merchants of Jeddah on which the Indian Moslem performed the "Haj." Even now the Hausas utilise their caravans to Mecca for purposes of trade.

productions of each kingdom and the market value of the same. I gathered these particulars from a very sure source, that is to say, from a man who knew our language and who had emigrated from Alexandria to those parts some thirty years before, that is from D. Gaspar da Gama.

CALICUT.

In the first place I will speak of Calicut, where we were. This place is an emporium for all the different kinds of merchandise set down below, and here the Mecca ships¹ come for their cargoes. The King of Calicut can put a hundred thousand men in the field if he calls upon his great vassals for their feudal aids, but he has very few who hold directly of him.

The imports from the Red Sea into Calicut by the Mecca fleet consisted chiefly of Copper, bezoar, a concretion in the intestines of goats used as an antidote against poison, which fetched its weight in silver, knives, rosewater, or possibly attar of roses, alum, scarlet and camlet cloth and quicksilver. The profits made by the Moorish traders upon these articles were probably very great, and when taken in conjunction with the prices at which Eastern produce sold at Alexandria, as compared with those it fetched in the locality where it was grown, fully explain the eagerness of the Portuguese to get the commerce of the Indies into their own hands.

The nearest important Kingdom to Calicut was

QUORONGOLIZ.

Which took its name from the town of Cranganor, on Chetwai Island, at one of the openings of the great Backwater of Cochin, 18 miles from that city.

According to the "Roteiro," both people and king were Christians. It was three days by sea from Calicut with a good wind. Its king could put about four thousand fighting men in the field. All spice was here grown in great quantities and could be bought at twenty-four shillings and ten pence a cwt. to be resold at one hundred and sixteen shillings and five pence at Calicut.

Alvarez Velho had, for once, some warrant for stating that Cranganor was a Christian town. According to tradition it had, as early as A. D. 52, been the scene of the first labours of St. Thomas in India, and the supposition was, in some degree, warranted by the fact that its Jewish Colony, which still exists and which is well known under the name of the "Black Jews of Cochin," can show authentic grants and charters dating back to A. D. 378. In later days it had been the capital of the Perimal Dynasty, and, before the ninth century, had become the seat of a flourishing Syrian Church. For a time the Portuguese contemplated making it the chief seat of their

power in India, although, says Correia, it produces no spices save ginger, having been invited then by the Syrian Christians in A. D. 1502. "It is now," says the Imperial Gazetteer of India, "utterly deserted, but is looked on as a place of great sanctity both by Christians and Hindoos." Oranganor belongs to Cochin.

COLEN. ²¹

Colen, now *Quilon*, was the nearest Kingdom to Oranganor to the south. It belonged to Christians, and was ten days from Calicut by sea with a good wind. The army numbered, at most, about ten thousand men. Quantities of cotton cloth were made in the country, but little allspice was grown.

In antiquity Quilon, which Alvarez Velho appears to have known under its native name of Kollam, was the Elangkon Emporium of Ptolemy, and the chief port of the Malabar Coast. St. Thomas had converted it to Christianity, and it was the seat of a flourishing Nestorian Bishopric. It is now the military centre of Travancore State.

CAELL.

Caell was the next Kingdom to Colen. The king was a Moor, but the population were Christians. It was a ten day's journey from Calicut by sea. The army comprised four thousand fighting men and a hundred war elephants. It was a great centre for the pearl trade.

Half a century before, Caell had been visited by the Venetian renegade, Niccolo Conti, who had described it in his Travels under the name of Cahila. To Marco Polo, who visited it himself, it had been known as Cael. To the Greek geographers it was known as Koliai, or Kolchi.

Cael is now the small village of Kayal, on the gulf of Manaar, in the Tinneveli District of Madras. Its prosperity as a sea port, and as a centre for the pearl fisheries, has long since vanished; but, according to Sir W. W. Hunter, the malarial flats around are covered for miles with broken tiles, potsherds of Arabian and other pottery and fragments of Chinese porcelain. An interesting description of its pearl fisheries is given by Duarte Barbosa.

Close to the island of Ceylon is a Bank, eight or ten fathoms deep, between the island and the mainland, where very large quantities of pearls and seed pearls, both fine and coarse, are found. The Moors and Hindoos of Caell, which is a city belonging to the King of Coulam (now Kottai, near Cochin), come twice yearly to fish for him on a system prescribed by strict regulations. The pearls are found in oysters which are smaller and smoother than those of Europe, and are brought up by divers, with plugs in their nostrils, who come from

Caell in the small ships called "chumpans," at the season when the King of Coulam lays up his sea-going fleet. The fishing fleet includes two or three hundred "chumpans," with a crew of ten or fifteen men each, provisioned for the legal fishing season. All disembark on a small uninhabited island on which they set up their temporary fishing village, as we do at the tunny fisheries in the Algarves. From this village every boat sets out to fish on its own account, that is to say they fish as partners by twos and twos. They anchor where they please, and when they have anchored, one of the men goes down into the sea with his nostrils plugged, a stone tied to his feet, and a netted bag fastened round his neck, whilst the other partner remains on board holding a cord which is fastened to the netted bag. The diver walks about the bottom of the sea for about half an hour picking up oysters until he has filled his bag. Then he slips the stone off his feet, strikes up to the surface and draws the bag of oysters up by the cord, and stays in the boat whilst his companion goes below. This is the way in which the oysters are fished. They then land the oysters and spread them out in the sun on the ground until they have rotted, then wash them thoroughly in chauldrons and bowls and collect the seed pearls. If they find a large pearl, it goes to the king, who has his secretaries and collectors at the fisheries to receive his dues; but the seed pearls are fished on the tribute system, the rent being paid by the fishermen directly they get home. Though these banks lie within the dominions of the king of Ceylon, he loses all the advantages of fishing them as he has neither ships nor sailors. Thus the King of Coulam, who has a strong navy, is, though he lives on the mainland, able to control the pearl fisheries. I have sometimes asked the natives how the seed pearls were produced. They told me they had found this out by experiment. In winter the oysters come out of the water, and get the rain water into them. Every drop of water thus caught, becomes a pearl, but those which fall into the meat of the oyster grow into perfect pearls, whilst those which fall into the shell only become imperfect ones.

CHOMANDARLA.

Both the people and King of Chomandarla are Christians. It has an army of one hundred thousand men. This country manufactures quantities of cotton cloth and produces much wax, which fetches four shillings and two pence a cwt.

Chomandarla is now Coromandel, or that portion of the East Coast of the Madras Presidency which extends from Cape Calymere to the north of Palk Strait along the Bay of Bengal to Cape Godewar, at the mouth of the northern channel of the

Godavari River. In the 15th century it was subject to the powerful kingdom of Narsinga (Bisnagor), which included the whole of the Deccan, except the Malabar Coast, and covered about the same territory as that now known as the Carnatic. According to Sir W. Hunter, Coromandel derives its name from a fishing village near Pornari in Chingleput district, and is a corruption of "Chormundalan," the name under which it appears to have been known to Alvarez Velho's native informants, meaning "The Country of the Cholas," a Dravida tribe known to Pliny as the "Sora."

CEYLON.

Ceylon is a very large island with a Christian king and population. It is eight days from Calicut with a fair wind. The army numbers four thousand men, with a number of war elephants, some of which the king keeps for sale. It abounds in cinnamon, which is the finest which we import from this India, ² in sapphires, which are finer than those of any other country, and also produces a few rubies of good quality.

CAMATAKRA.

Camatarra is peopled by Christians, and is thirty days' journey from Calicut with a good wind. The army consists of four thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and three hundred war elephants. It produces large quantities of Nankin silk which fetches sixty shillings and eight pence farthing per cwt., and also of wax which is sold by the "*hacher*" of twenty *sarazellas* or six hundred lbs., at the rate of four shillings and two pence farthing per cwt..

Camatarra is Sumatra. The island first became known to Europeans after it had been visited by Niccolo Conti about 1445, but towns on it were known by hearsay to Marco Polo and other travellers of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. It was at this time divided into many small independant States. The "Nankin Silk" lit. "Silk yarn" mentioned in the "*Roteiro*" is some kind of vegetable silk. Marco Polo mentions Sumatra as Java Minor.

XARNAUZ.

The king and people of Xarnauz are Christians. It is fifty days from Calicut with a good wind. The army consists of twenty thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry and four hundred war elephants. The exports include great quantities of benzoin, which fetches twenty-five shillings and two pence half penny a cwt., and of aloes which sell at ten guineas the cwt.

² *This India.* The "Three Indias" of Mediaeval Geographers have been "already described. Cf. Note. 64.

It is impossible to say with precision what country is referred to under the name of Xarnauz. The editors of the "Roteiro" conclude, from the particulars given as to the distance from Calicut, that it is the island of Borneo, the "Java Major" of Marco Polo: Sir Richard Burton concludes that it is Siam, the "Soman" of Marco Polo. Benzoin and aloes abound in both Borneo and Siam, but, if the country be Borneo, it is strange that Alvarez Velho does not mention camphor, which has long been the principal article of Borneo trade. On the other hand, Siam was, in the sixteenth century, a very powerful kingdom with an army of a million strong. We would hazard a conjecture that the name may apply to the southern portion of the Isthmus of Kraw and northernmost portion of the Malay Peninsula, both still included within the limits of Siam. One of the conspicuous points on the East Coast, a little south of the narrowest part of the Isthmus, is known as Carnom Point (in 8°56' N. Lat. 99°49' E. Long.), and off it there is an island of the same name.

TENACAR.

Tenacar is wholly Christian. It is forty days from Calicut with a fair wind. It has an army of ten thousand infantry and five hundred war elephants. Brazil wood, which yields as good a scarlet as grain does, abounds and is sold on the spot at one shilling and three pence a cwt. Its price current in Cairo is twenty-five shilling per cwt. Aloes are only found in small quantities.

Tenacar is Tennasserim, the southernmost province of Burmah, and is inhabited by a mixed population of Buddhists and Nat worshippers, who venerate spirits or demons residing in natural objects. Tennasserim had been visited by Niccolo Conti on his way to Ava, the then capital of Burmah, by the River Irrawady. In the Fifteenth Century it was a dependency of Siam and included that part of the West Coast of the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula which extends between the town of Mergui and the Island of Junkceylon, on the west side of the Isthmus of Kraw. Most probably it was bounded on the south by "Xarnauz." Niccoló Conti mentions its trade in Brazil wood, much used in the Middle Ages for producing the scarlet dye which is conspicuous in every picture showing men's dress in the Fifteenth Century. The word "Brazil" is derived from the Portuguese "Brasa," pronounced "Braza," or "Glowing coals." "Grain" is the hemipterous insect (*Coccus Ilicis*) found on the galls of the Kermes or Scarlet oak, which, before the discovery of cochineal, was usually used for dyeing scarlet. It was thought in the Middle Ages to be a kind of

"Grain" or "Seed," Lat. "Granum," whence the name. "Cloth of grain" is a very common synonym for "Scarlet cloth" in Old English. Aloe wood was used as a perfume for sachets, and for burning as pastels. It is a powerful disinfectant.

BENGALA.

Bengala has a large Moorish, but small Christian, population. The king is a Moor. He may have an army of twenty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. It manufactures much cotton and silk cloth, abounds in silver, and is forty days with a fair wind from Calicut.

Bengala is, of course, Lower Bengal, west of the Ganges. The muslins of Patna were early famous. It is somewhat strange that no war elephants are mentioned as forming part of the Bengalese army, as, in the Eighteenth Century, they were an important element in the Nawab's forces.

MELEQUA.

Melequa is wholly Christian. It is forty days from Calicut with a fair wind. The army is about ten thousand strong, three hundred being cavalry, and the rest infantry. All our cloves and nutmegs come from here. They are sold by the hachar (600 lbs.) and realise on the spot six shillings and five pence three farthings a cwt. It is a great centre for porcelains, silk and tin. They coin tin into money, but the coins are cumbersome and are worth very little, as the raw metal fetches only two shillings per cwt. The country abounds in large scarlet parrots which look like burning coals.

According to Sir Richard Burton, *Melequa* includes the Malay Peninsula as well as the Island and Town of Malacca. Previous to the foundation of Singapore, Malacca was the great centre for the exchange of Western and Far Eastern products. After the Revolution of A. D. 878, when the ports of China were closed to foreigners, the Arab dhows from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf used to meet the Chinese and Japanese vessels at Malacca. Porcelain and silks were the chief staples of the Chinese trade with the West: the spices came from the Moluccas in Javanese ships. The tin was, of course, the produce of the streams of the Malay Peninsula. Tin coins, dating from as early as the eighth century A. D., are frequently dug up in excavations all over Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. Malacca was conquered by the Portuguese under Affonso de Albuquerque in 1511, subsequently passed into the hands of the Dutch, and is now British territory. Its place as a trading centre has been taken by Singapore.

PEGUO.

Peguo is Christian. Its inhabitants are all white like ourselves. The army is about twenty thousand strong, ten thousand being cavalry, and ten thousand infantry, with four hundred war elephants. Here there is all the musk in the world. The king of Peguo has an island about four days off from the mainland with a fair wind. On this island there are animals very like hinds. They have a kind of wen growing on their navels in which the musk is contained. At a certain season of the year they rub themselves against the trees, when these wens drop off, and the natives of the country go and collect them. The musk is so plentiful that four or five large wens, or ten or twelve small ones, which might fill a good sized box, only fetch two shillings and three pence. Rubies and gold are so abundant on the mainland that for twenty-two shillings and six pence one may buy as much gold as will sell for fifty six shillings and three pence at Calicut. Peguo also abounds in wax, and in two kinds of benzoin, one white and the other black. White benzoin sells at twenty-five shillings and one penny three farthings per cwt.: black benzoin at twelve shillings and six pence three farthings. Silver is so cheap that for twenty-two shillings and six pence one can get as much as will sell for thirty-four shillings and three pence at Calicut, which is thirty days from Peguo with a fair wind.

Peguo is, of course, Pegu, now Lower Burmah. The Islands are the Andaman Islands: the "animals which yield the musk" are the Musk deer, "*Cervus Moschatus*." A similar story as to the origin of musk is found in Marco Polo, who visited the Andamans on his way back from China to Europe.

BEMGUALA.

Bemguala has a Moorish king and a mixed population of Christians and Moors. Its army may be about 24,000 strong, ten thousand being cavalry, and the rest infantry, with four hundred war elephants. The country could export quantities of wheat and very valuable cotton goods. Cloths which sell on the spot for twenty-two shillings and six pence fetch ninety shillings in Calicut. It abounds in silver.

To judge from the distance from Calicut, Bemguala may here mean Arracan, the South-Eastern Province of Burmah, which extends along the Eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, North of Pegu, between the sea and the Vinadang mountains. Its capital is Akyab. Before it was conquered by the Burmese, Arracan formed a powerful kingdom, whose rulers between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries held a large part of Lower Bengal, including Dacca, famous for its muslins, as a tributary state.

CONJMATA.

Conjmata is subject to a Christian king and is, probably, inhabited by Christians. It is fifty days from Calicut with a fair wind. The army may be five or six thousand strong with a thousand war elephants. Sapphires and Brazil wood abound.

According to the Portuguese Editors, who quote Eredia as their authority, *Conjmata* is the Island of Timor, in which is a port named Camanaca, which produces the "Sandalwood" or "*Sannders*" so much used for fumigation in the fifteenth century. Neither sapphires, Brazil wood, nor elephants are, however, now found in Timor, the fauna and flora of which are distinctly those of the Australasian Zoological and Botanical Region. The distance given from Calicut would also seem very small, if Timor is meant, as the distance between the two places is at least twenty degrees of latitude, and fifty of longitude, or considerably more than that from Calicut to Melinde. If it is not *Siam*, where there are the lake of *Chia mai* Koh-si-Chang Island north-west of Cape Liant and the port of *Chanti-bun*, and which may, possibly, have been included by Arab geographers under the term *Macin* (a corruption of Maha-dschin, "Great China"), although this is more usually applied to Burma as by the Venetian Traveller Josafat Barbaro (1436-1482), one is naturally led to think of *Borneo*, which in Medieval Geography was occasionally known as *Kalmantan*. Camanaca in Timor may be the present Portuguese factory of Kalaeko. *Kalantan* is, however, a well-known province on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula, bordering Tringanu and Perak, so that it is not altogether impossible that it may be the country intended by *Conjmata*.

PATER.

Pater is wholly Christian. In this Kingdom there is not a single Moor. Its army numbers about four thousand, with a hundred war elephants. Rhubarb, which sells on the spot for £4-10-9 the cwt., is plentiful, as are also spicels and wax, which is sold by the hachar. Wax fetches thirty three shillings and eleven pence three farthings per cwt. *Pater* is fifty days with a fair wind from Calicut.

Pater, according to the Portuguese editors, is Pedir, then a small kingdom in the North-East of Sumatra, now forming part of Achin and near Cape Pedir. According to Sir Richard Burton it is Patani, an important town on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula, immediately North of Kalantan State, and mentioned in the *Lusiad* (Canto X, Stanza 125) as an independent kingdom in conjunction with Pahang. Patani now forms part of Siam. If *Pater* is Patani, it would be an argument for identifying *Conjmata* with Kalantan.

HOW THE INDIAN WAR ELEPHANTS FIGHT.

They make a wooden house large enough to hold four men (our howdah), which they fasten on the elephant's back. In each of the tusks they fix five swords, making ten in all. Elephants armed in this fashion, inspire such terror, that no one who can possibly find any means of flight, remains to stand their charge. The elephant obeys every order of his riders, just as if he were a reasonable being, for when his Mahout tells him, "kill so and so," or, "do this, that, or the other," he *does* it at once.

HOW WILD ELEPHANTS ARE CAPTURED.

When they wish to capture a wild elephant, they take a tame female and dig a deep pit in the place where they wish the elephant to go, and cover the mouth of it with brushwood. They then tell the female, "Go, and if you find any elephant, bring him up near this pit, so that he may fall into it, and take care you don't do so too." She then goes off and does exactly as they told her to, and after she has met one, leads him such a dance that he is bound to fall into the pit, which is so deep that he cannot possibly scramble out of it by himself.

HOW THEY DRAG UP THE ELEPHANTS OUT OF THE PIT AND
BREAK THEM IN.

They leave the elephant in the pit for some five or six days without giving him any food. A man then comes to him with a very small ration, which is increased daily until he is allowed to eat his fill. During the month that this is going on, the keepers who bring him his food, get him to know them. They then throw down a little earth into the pit, and continue doing so every day until the elephant stands high enough to be able to put his tusks into their hands. A keeper then goes down into the pit and fastens strong chains round his feet, which are kept on until he is so thoroughly broken in that he can do everything but speak. Elephants are hobbled as horses are in Portugal. A good elephant will sell for £225. *

THE FOLLOWING IS THE PRICE CURRENT FOR SPICES AT
ALEXANDRIA.

It is very interesting to compare the list of prices given by Alvarez Velho as those at which spices are quoted at the various ports of shipment in India, with those at which they were then selling in Alexandria, Lisbon and London. The profits, which were to be made in the spice trade were the main inducement which had impelled the Kings of Portugal to undertake the arduous task of exploring the sea-road to India, in order to wrest the trade from the hands of the Sultans of Egypt, the Venetians, and the Merchants of Augsburg and

Nüremburg. Gardening in the Middle Ages was an art which was but imperfectly understood, and, as our modern processes for preserving vegetables were unknown, whilst hot-houses were not invented until the Seventeenth Century, spices afforded the only means of counteracting the effects of the diet of salt meat to which the lack of any foods suitable for wintering store cattle, condemned our ancestors during the winter months. Consequently, it may be said that the spice trade was the most lucrative branch of mediæval commerce, and upon it the prosperity of Italy, Germany and Flanders mainly depended. Professor Thorold Rogers, in his history of "Agriculture and Prices in England from 1264 to 1702," has given a very able analysis of the spice trade so far as it concerned the English markets, and it may be interesting to compare his remarks with the particulars given by Alvarez Velho, and those given as to prices in Lisbon by Correia, in place of translating the tables given in the "Roteiro" as they stand:—

We have followed Mr. Danvers in his "History of the Portuguese in India" in taking the quintal as 128 lbs. and the curzado as worth two shillings and three pence.

CINNAMON.

In 1497 Cinnamon was very scarce and very little known in England. We have seen that, like all other spices, it was brought to Alexandria by the Red Sea route, paying no less than four separate duties on the way. At Alexandria it was loaded on board the galleys of Venice and Genoa. From Venice the spices were conveyed to Spain, Portugal, England and Flanders by the famous "Flanders Gallies," or "Fleet," which had been first established by the Venetian Senate for the trade with Western Europe in 1317. *This fleet sailed yearly for Southampton by Syracuse, Majorca and the coasts of Spain and Portugal. From Southampton, they went on to Bruges and thence returned to Southampton, where they loaded with English goods, of which the most valuable were wool and goldsmith's work. So regular was the traffic that the Slavonian rowers, who rowed the Gallies, had their own confraternity at Southampton, and their own burial ground at North Stoneham, where the inscription may still be read, 'Sepultura de la Schola de Slavoni, Ano Dei. MCCCCLXXXI.' The famous "Schola degli Schiavoni" at Venice, so dear to students of Carpaccio and of Ruskin, thus finds its counterpart in a quiet Hampshire village.

Cinnamon, as we have seen, was the produce of Ceylon, although an inferior quality was grown at Calicut, and brought from Cannanore and Mangalore as "jungle produce." Its selling price at Calicut is not given. At Alexandria it fetched

5¼*d.* a lb. ; at Lisbon three shilling and two pence ; in London three shillings and three pence to three shillings and eight pence. As soon as a direct trade with Lisbon in spices was opened in 1503, the price in London fell to 2*s.* 10*d.* It is at present quoted retail at 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb.

CLOVES.

Cloves, which are the produce of both the Zanzibar coast and the Moluccas, were usually brought to Europe from Malacca, where they sold at about two pence a pound. At Alexandria they sold for 4-1/5 *d.* per lb., at Lisbon for three shillings and six pence, in London for prices varying from 2*s.* 3*d.* per lb., in 1491 to 4*s.* in 1497. After 1503 they fetched 5*s.* per lb. Their present price is from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb. In the Middle Ages they were much used.

ALLSPICE.

Allspice may almost be ranked as jungle produce, as the shrub which yields it, requires little or no cultivation. It mostly came from the Malabar coast, the great mart being Cranganor, where the wholesale price was eight pence per lb. At Calicut it fetched twelve pence half penny per lb., at Alexandria, 15 cruzados per quintal or per lb. 3¼*d.* If the price is correctly given, it is clear that a large quantity of inferior allspice must have reached the Egyptian markets from other sources than Calicut, possibly from East Africa. The first known mention of all spice in English accounts is in 1527, when it sold at two shillings and eight pence per lb. The present price retail is 4¼*d.* per lb.

GINGER.

Ginger was not a common spice in Europe. It was found in the East African markets, as, for instance, at Melinde, but probably reached Alexandria mainly from Calicut, where it was largely grown, and where it was sold wholesale by the hachar of five quintals at about 7/8ths of a penny per lb. At Alexandria it fetched 3¼*d.* per lb., at Lisbon two shillings and a penny, in London the average price from 1491 to 1500 was 2*s.* 3¾*d.* and from 1501 to 1510, 1*s.* 5¼*d.* Ginger stands a long sea voyage better than most spices, so it was one of the first to be brought to Europe, probably in a preserved form, in large quantities, by the sea route from India. Hence, doubtless, the fall in price in 1501-1510. The present selling price retail in London is ten pence to one shilling and two pence per lb.

NUTMEGS.

Although mace was known in England in very early times, the first appearance of nutmegs in English private accounts dates, according to Professor Thorold Rogers, from a royal

feast at Windsor in 1527, under circumstances which seem to show that they had been imported from Flanders. They were found on the East Coast of Africa, and at Malacca, where the wholesale price was three-tenths of a penny a pound. At Alexandria nutmegs were quoted at about $3\frac{1}{3}d.$ per lb. At Lisbon they sold for one shilling and nine pence per lb.

WAX.

Wax was brought from Coromandel, Sumatra, Pegu, and Pedir. The average price was about a half-penny, to a penny, (at Pedir) per lb. At Alexandria it sold for $5\frac{1}{3}d.$ In England wax in 1497 was bought for $6\frac{1}{4}d.$ a lb. for the tapers of Colleg^e chapels, but was not necessarily of Eastern origin, as it was usually imported from Livonia. White wax is now 2s. 8d. per lb.

BRAZIL WOOD.

In consequence of the prevailing fondness for the scarlet and crimson cloths and velvets which are so conspicuous in men's dress in all the Flemish and Italian pictures of the earliest Renaissance, all substances yielding these dyes were of great value. Of these, Brazil wood, was by far the most important, before the discovery of cochineal. The best came from Tenasserim, where it could be bought for one-tenth of a penny per lb., but it also came from Conjmata, wherever that may be. At Alexandria it sold for $2\frac{1}{8}d.$ per lb. As fine dyeing was but little practised in England, which received its own wool back in the form of cloths from Flanders, Brazil wood is not mentioned in the English accounts of the period.

RHUBARB.

Rhubarb was a very valuable (but very scarce) drug in the medical pharmacopœia of the day. It came from Pedir, where it sold for $8\frac{1}{10}d.$ per lb. At Alexandria, if the M. S. is correct, it sold for twenty-seven shillings an *arratel*, or Portuguese lb. (1'01 lb. av. It is now 7s. 6d. per lb. Troy.

MUSK.

Musk, we have seen, came from the Andaman Islands, and was sold so cheaply in Pegu, that four large, or ten or twelve small, "pouches" could be bought for 2s. 3d. In Alexandria the Egyptian Metical (five sixths of an English drachm) fetched 2s. 3d., or per dm. 2s. $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ An English drachm is now worth 21s. 6d. in London.

ALOEWOOD.

Aloe wood was largely used in the Middle Ages, being burnt for purposes of fumigation and as a perfume. It came from Tenasserim and Xarnauz, where it sold for 1s. $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb ; at

Alexandria it was sold by the "arratel" at the rate of 4s. 6d. per lb. Powdered Barbadoes Aloes are now quoted in London at 1s. 9d. per lb.

BENZOIN.

Benzoin, other wise known as gum benjamin, was of two kinds, white and black, the first being twice the price of the second. It came from Xarnauz and Pegu. White benzoin was 2⁷/₆d. per lb. and black 1⁷/₂₀d. At Alexandria it was sold for two shillings and three pence per lb. The price in England is not known.

INCENSE.

Incense came to Alexandria from Mecca. At Mecca the price was 1/10th. of a penny per lb. at Alexandria ¹/₂d. per lb. In England incense in 1462 sold at two pence per lb. The incense probably reached Mecca from Yemen and Somali Land.

Such were the profits to be reaped from the Spice Trade at a time when the price of one lb. av. of Pepper was, on an average, equal to that of two bushels of wheat, and when we also take into account the low price of cotton goods, tin, silks, muslins, precious stones, and of the precious metals in the Indian marts as compared with their value in Europe, we cannot be astonished that the transfer of the Eastern Trade from the land route through Egypt to the Sea Route round the Cape of good Hope was sufficient to make Lishon and Antwerp, within a very few years, the richest cities in Europe. It may be interesting to mention, as a standard of comparison, that the average price of wheat per quarter in England is given by Professor Thorold Rogers as 4s. 10¹/₂d. in 1490; 4s. 0³/₄d. in 1495; and 6s. 1¹/₂d. in 1500.

A "Vocabulary of the Language of Calicut" follows. It is described by Sir Richard Burton as Malayalim, a corrupt dialect of Tamil, much spoken in the neighbourhood of Cochin, but is thought by Mr. A. R. Macdonald, a former member of the Bombay Civil Service, who is well known as an Oriental linguist, to be Canarese, which is founded on Sanscrit. In a private letter to the translator Mr. Macdonald writes: "Calicut is on the borderland of Canarese and Tamil; there are other dialects which need not be considered. The words you give me are, probably, Canarese founded on Sanscrit."

Vocabularies of this nature were not uncommonly made by travellers in the Middle Ages. There is, for instance, a very well known one of Romaic and Latin, extant in Eton College Library, which was compiled by one of the Fellows of Eton, who made a journey to the Holy Land in 1464.

"THIS IS THE LANGUAGE OF CALICUT."

ENGLISH.	LANGUAGE of CALICUT.	ENGLISH.	LANGUAGE of CALICUT.
Look !	no cane.	To hear.	Cegade.
Listen !	que que ne.	To beat.	Catane.
Bring it !	criane.	Wound.	Moruh.
Cow.	balichene.	Sword.	Batany.
Let go !	coravo.	Target.	Cutany.
Give me !	Comda.	Bow.	Cauny.
Eat !	tinane.	Arrow.	Ambum.
Take.	y' na.	Lance.	Ooncudoo.
I do not wish.	totenda.	To Shoot with a } bow.	Heany.
To walk.	Marecane.	Sun.	Nerara.
Go away !	Poo.	Moon.	Neclan.
Come here !	Baa.	Heaven.	Mana.
Be quiet !	Pote	Earth.	Caraa.
Get up !	Legany.	Sea.	Caralu.
To throw.	Care cane	Ship.	Capell.
To speak.	Para ne.	Boats.	Cambuco.
Fool.	Moto.	Night.	Erahut.
Wise man.	Monday.	Day.	Pagalala.
	decany.	To eat.	Tinane.
Maimed.	Mura call.	—	Matara.
To fall.	Biamce.	To sit down.	Arricany.
Much.	Balida.	To stand.	Anicany.
Hand.	Betall.	To embrace.	Traigany
Wind.	Clarle.	A blow.	Talanay.
Little.	Chiredu.	To weep.	Que ne.
Give him !	Criane.	To rise.	Alagany.
Wood.	Mara.	To dance.	Canechane.
Stone.	Calon.	To throw stones } or wood.	Ouryany.
Teeth.	Faley.	To sing.	Fareny.
Cheeks.	Cire	Rain.	Ma jaa.
Nose.	Muco.	Water.	Tany.
Eyes.	Cana.	Blind.	Curage.
Head.	Nechaim (skull).	Deprived of the } hand.	Muraquay.
Hair.	Talanay.	—	Panany.
Head.	Tabu.	Take.	Ennay.
Ears.	Cadee.	Let us go !	Pomga.
Tongue.	Naoo.	East.	Oarecache.
Neck.	Caestez.	West.	Mecache.
—	Mulay.	North.	Barcangache.
Breast.	Carit.	South.	Tycangache.
Stomach.	Barri.	Dog.	Naa.
Legs.	Cali.	Bitch.	Pena.
... •	Canay.	Boy.	Hum nee.
—	Seyrum.	Little boy.	Copoo.
—	Cudo.	House.	Pura.
Hands.	Languajem.	Needle.	Oudoo.
Fingers.	Beda.	Yard.	Parima.
—	Cula.	Oar.	Tandij.
Fish.	Mjny.	Cannon.	Ve dij.
Mast.	Mana.	Top-mast.	Talij.
Light.	Tijr.		
To sleep.	Teraquy.		
Man.	Amoo.		

Woman.	Pena.	Hauliard.	Angnaa.
Beard.	Tari.	Anchor.	Napara.
Lobster.	Xame.	Banners and } Cotj.	
Parrot.	Tata.	Standards.	
Doves.	Cayninas.	Helm.	Xoca.
—	Baly.	Bull.	Cu pajoo.
To kiss.	Mucane.	Breeches.	Cacu paga.
To bite.	Canchany.	Cap.	Tupy.
To see.	Noquany.		

The following are their Proper Names.

Tenae, Peunj, Paramganda, Uja Pee, Quilaha, Gonaa, Aja paa, Arreco, Axirama, Cuerapa, Cutotopa, Anapa, Canapa, Gande, Rremaa.—Mangala.

ART. VI.—USURY.

I

HAVING written an article on Usury some time ago in the *Calcutta Review*, when the late Baboo Mohini Mohun Roy's Bill, restricting the amount of interest to that of the principal, was on the anvil of the Supreme Council, I make no apology now for contributing a further paper on the same subject, when attempts are being made to pass certain legislative enactments for the purpose of improving and safeguarding the position of debtors in this country. Somehow or other, Babu Mohini Mohun Roy's Bill has been shelved ; but the present Bill, as introduced by Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and referred to a select committee, contains provisions which are either redundant or largely unnecessary. The Honourable Mr. Chalmers, in moving the Bill, said ; " There may be no fraud, but the relations between the parties to a contract may be such that one of them is practically in the power of the other, and that power may be used to extort unfair terms". To offer any criticism on a Bill which is to pass into law, perhaps, at the next meeting of the Council before the ink with which I write is dry, is a futile work. Suffice it to say that this legislation will not improve matters in the least. To extort unfair terms from debtors is a serious matter in these days, and is already well provided for in the Contract Act. Now this may also come under the Penal Code. But, when the mover said that, in arming the Courts with the power of setting aside such unfair and extortionate contracts, no new departure was really about to be made, one might well ask " What, then, is use of this legislation ? "

Now, laws against usury have been in vogue from the days of the Roman Empire, up to the last half of the present century, in most of the civilized states of the world ; and nowhere creditors have been the worse for them : they have pressed most severely on the debtors themselves. As marriage laws, however wisely framed, can never stand in good stead of those who rush into matrimony with persons who are bad and lewd, so borrowers can never be relieved who willingly put their heads under the yoke of the money-lender.

The *Damduput* rule, which does not allow interest to accumulate to more than the principal, is regarded by most men as a panacea for all the evils of borrowing. But the Presidency Towns, where this rule is prevalent, teem with instances of contracts at usurious rates which the Calcutta High Court has been unable to reach, or relieve. In every Government, and merchant's office,

the employees—sometimes from the highest to the lowest—are willing victims to the money-lender's usury. The ever vigilant, but mild, *Marwari* is generally the broker in these instances, and interest is paid monthly without the least demur at rates ranging from 2 to 4 per cent. Your Eurasian officers are no exceptions to this rule; indeed, they are not improbably the greatest sinners in this respect. Living beyond their means, they find it indispensable to take loans at high rates of interest on notes of hand. At the beginning of the month, you will find the ubiquitous money-lender entering every Government and merchant's office, producing his much coveted note of hand before his debtors and realizing his interest from them out of their salary. This goes on every month in the very heart of the Metropolis of India—aye within the very precincts of the High Court itself. But can any amount of legislation stop it? One might as well try to stem the torrent of the Hooghly by legislative interference.

In the bankers' cell at Barrabazar and Shovabazar in Calcutta you meet people who take money at a rate of interest which is simply astounding. They commonly borrow, say a hundred rupees in the morning, and return the money in the evening, or at night, the same day, and pay interest ranging from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 daily. In the busy haunts of trade, though they can utilize this small sum of a hundred rupees for a day only, they earn so much that they gladly pay such an exorbitant rate of interest as Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 a day. And this is but one branch of the trade of usury as practised in the metropolis under the benign administration of British rule in India. Who ever heard of these transactions seeing the light of day in a British Court of Justice in Calcutta?

The pawnbroker is another individual whose necessity in commercial places like Calcutta cannot be denied. To him come the most fashionable folk of the town, as well as the starving wretch who forms the scum of society, and each borrows on his brilliant diamond ring, or silver anklet, at a rate of interest of about an anna in the rupee. Necessity has no law, and even well-to-do people, instead of having recourse to friends, prefer going to the pawnbroker's counter and getting money, when hard pressed for it, by pledging any small valuables they may have. This custom has become so universal that there is hardly any class of people, rich or poor, who are not affected by it. Even in families that are rolling in wealth, some private want of a pressing nature often drives one or other of their members to the pawnbroker. Any rule of law passed by the Legislature to interfere with these every day transactions of the people, however stringent, is sure to frustrate the real object for which it is passed and drive the debtor more and more into

the hands of the money-lenders. It is a notorious fact that most of the lower orders of society would find it difficult to live without the assistance of the pawnbroker.

Interest on mortgage of landed property in Calcutta is now at a low figure, ranging generally from 6 to 9 per cent. per annum, according as the sum advanced is large or small. This is, no doubt, due to some extent to the reduction of 4 per cent. Government paper to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

I know from experience full well how the *Damduput* rule of law works in Calcutta, and how it is evaded by the combination of creditor and debtor alike. On the Original Side of the High Court, one often sees, in the decree passed by the Court, that such and such an amount of interest is disallowed by the rule of *Damduput* law from the claim set up by creditors. In one case in which Rajah Srinath Roy was the mortgagee, a sum of Rs. 3,000 was disallowed by the Court in this way. The decree was executed, and the judgment-debtor's properties were put up to sale and bought by the mortgagee himself. In a later stage of the case, when the decree-holder executed his decree for the realization of the balance and attached some of the judgment-debtor's properties, he thought fit to give up this attachment and grant a postponement of the sale on the latter paying him over the sum of Rs. 3,000, which had been excluded from his claim in the mortgage suit. This revelation was made some time ago, in a suit before the third Subordinate Judge of Hooghly, from the mouth of Rajah Srinath Roy's attorney himself, who had to give his deposition in that case. This case, as well as others of a similar nature, proves to the hilt the correctness of the Bengali saying, that the Cazi is powerless in matters where both debtor and creditor agree. The reason why the rate of interest in Calcutta is lower than outside is very obvious. There you have innumerable rich bankers, and European and native banks that advance money at a comparatively low rate of interest. There is competition, as well as accumulation of wealth in far more hands there than in the mofussil.

Again, in Metropolitan districts like Hooghly and the 24-Pergunnahs, as well as Burdwan and Nuddia, interest is little higher than in Calcutta, and far lower than in places situated further up. In Bihar, such places as Bhagalpore, Patna and Gya afford greater scope for the money-lender's usury than those situated nearer the Capital. In Tirhut, Benares, Mirat, and Lucknow it flourishes in all its vigour and glory. In Burmah it is more rampant than elsewhere within the length and breadth of British India. You can get there a mortgage of landed property at 4 to 6 per cent. interest per month, which is not easily available in these parts of

India. The customary rate of interest is rather a high one there, and the Courts of Justice are bound to countenance it. In Metropolitan districts interest on good security ranges annually from 9 to 12 per cent. generally, and in special cases is as high as 15 per cent. In Bihar it is from 15 to 24 per cent. generally, but in special cases it is even higher. In Orissa it is as excessive as it is in Burmah. But everywhere, when a debtor is very hard pressed to meet urgent demands, as in times of payment of land revenue, or where, as in Bengal, one's daughter is going to be married, the rate of interest charged is mostly higher than the ordinary rate. I know of instances in which a man whose landed property is on the point of being sold for arrears of revenue contract loans at a rate of interest which none but a madman would think of paying. But in almost all such cases the sum advanced is a small one, say Rs. 300 or 500, and the interest charged is two annas in the rupee per day. If that money were not advanced, the poor man's property would be sold up for a trifle, and even for getting loans on such usurious terms of interest the borrower thanks his stars and tries to pay the debt off as soon as possible. In cases like these usury, instead of proving a curse, becomes a blessing.

The pledging of gold jewelry is carried on in India at a rate and on a scale which is hardly conceivable by any foreigner. Almost all rich folk are directly or indirectly connected with this business, which is carried on privately within the four walls of the household. Mostly, the business is done by the female members of the house and the male members have no direct share in it. When a lady is in urgent want of money of which she does not like to tell her husband, she sends an ornament to one of her friends or neighbours and gets money, say a hundred or two hundred rupees, by pledging it. The interest in these cases generally varies from 6 to 12 per cent., but hardly exceeds the latter figure. In addition to this, the females of a house sometime take in pledge jewelry from outside the circle of their friends and relations and drive a very brisk and profitable business. These matters never, as a rule, go to Court, but are quietly settled, when necessity arises, at home. These pledged jewelries lie for years with the creditor, and interest accumulates till it overleaps their value, the principal of course being always added to it and taken into account. They are then sold and the loan is realised out of the proceeds. Generally, even if their value falls short of what is due on account of the loan, no demand is made for the balance. In India a good deal of money is converted into gold ornaments, which are worn by females and are in many instances the only resource which a person in his wintry days falls back upon for support and maintenance.

Another form of borrowing, which is now gradually falling into disuse, but was once very prevalent in this country, is the taking of grain on loan. In the metropolis and towns this system is no longer in vogue; but it still prevails in villages, where rural life is undisturbed and the Queen's coin is not so freely circulated. The rate of interest is about 25 per cent, for in cases like these, at the time of repayment, the rice returned exceeds that lent by nearly one-fourth. Another commodity which is still given as a sort of loan to others is milk. Whenever a householder who has kine finds that more than the necessary quantity of milk is supplied by them, he either arranges to sell it or lends it to others. The rate of interest is generally the same as in the case of corn.

As regards the rate of interest in the Calcutta Banks, it is a well-known fact that the Bank of Bengal leads the others. Nearly all the rest lend money at one per cent above the Bengal Bank's rate. This holds good as far as loan transactions are concerned, on pledge of Government Securities, Municipal, and Port Trust Debentures, and shares in tea, indigo, jute, and other manufacturing companies. We know full well, and the Government far better, how the reduction of the 4 per cent. securities to $3\frac{1}{2}$ by Sir James Westland, has landed the whole country in a most critical position. For some time, Government Paper, which used to be formerly the best and safest investment amongst the people of this country, has been lying dead at a great discount, and has lost the confidence of everybody. Owing to this reduction of 4 per cent. Government securities to $3\frac{1}{2}$, most people no longer invest money in Government securities, but have taken to other modes of investment, *e.g.* mortgage and purchase of land, Calcutta property, of course, standing high at present in the estimation of native investors. Generally a higher rate of interest is charged on loans of shares than on Government Paper, and Municipal, and Port Trust Debentures. For instance, just now the rate of interest on loans on Government Paper is 7 per cent. in the Bank of Bengal, and the rate on loans on shares is 9 per cent. There are some banks, notably among which is the Land Mortgage Bank, which lend money on security of landed property, the rate of interest charged being a moderate one, ranging from 6 to 12 per cent. The Life Insurance Companies, which have multiplied so much in late years, do the same. There are some native firms of rich and respectable bankers which do a good business by lending money at a little below the Bank of Bengal rate on pledge of Government Securities, debentures and shares. Naturally all these banks pay a far smaller rate of interest on deposits of money kept with them. On accounts current the Bank of Bengal allows no interest whatsoever,

but the other banks generally pay at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum. On fixed deposits, however, they allow a higher rate of interest. Banks like the Hongkong and Shanghai, the National, and the Chartered, pay about 4 or 4½ per cent. per annum, but others, like the Calcutta Bank, allow as much as 6 per cent. per annum. The Commercial Bank of India, on the other hand, gives interest at a higher rate for shorter periods on fixed deposits than for a longer one. But this high rate of interest is allowed during the busy season only, when the money market grows tight.

But what rate of interest prevails in the Calcutta Rialto—that small spot at the back of the Writers Building where speculations on the sale and purchase of lakhs of rupees worth of Government paper and shares take place almost daily—the public at large have hardly any conception whatsoever. The speculation that goes on there is a sort of gambling business, and how many fortunes have been made and lost it is hard to imagine. In the scramble to get rich in the twinkling of an eye, loans are contracted for the carrying on of this gambling business at rates of interest incredibly high. Now, it is not speculation that enriches a country, but production. Speculation enriches only a very few, but impoverishes the large majority of people. It is an unmixing curse of great magnitude which is here unfortunately gaining ground every day. Amongst the quasi-brokers and speculators that infest the Calcutta Government Paper market, how many are there who have really prospered in that business?

II.

Since I wrote my last article on the Usury Laws, some important and interesting case-laws have appeared on some phases of the question. For instance, in all cases in which no mention is made of any rate of interest to be paid after the due date of payment, it was formerly the opinion of our Courts that only 6 per cent. interest should be allowed after that date. Before that decision it was generally thought that no interest whatsoever was payable. But all these contentions were set at rest by the Privy Council in the case of *Chjmal Dass vs. Brij Bhuban Lall*, I. L. R. XVII, All. 511. In this case, on the construction of a written contract to repay in two years from its date money with interest at 15 per cent. to be paid half-yearly, arrears of interest being added half-yearly to the principal, the Judicial Committee concurred with the High Court that there was no contract to pay interest at that rate after the date fixed for repayment. It was held by Lord Morris that, on that construction, the creditor would be entitled, on default made in the repayment, to receive interest,

but technically as damages assessed ; and the rate *prima facie* would be the same as that provided by the contract during the two years, although there is no rule of law making that rate necessarily a measure of damages. The compounding of interest after the two years was disallowed, and an account was directed on the basis that the interest *post diem* should be simple at 15 per cent. down to the date of the plaint, and after that date at 6 per cent. till payment. In this case the original sum lent was Rs. 5,000, and the accumulated interest came up to Rs. 11,000, making a total of Rs. 16,000, which, of course, could never have been allowed in Calcutta.

It seems to have been settled by the highest authority, in *Cooke vs. Fowler*, that interest may be claimed after due date, but such claim is in the nature of damages ; and further, in the above case, it was ruled by the then Lord Chancellor, Earl Cairns, that, where parties agree for a certain rate of interest, up to the day of payment, the same rate may be, though not necessarily, adopted in assessing the subsequent damages for non-payment, such rate being one that might fairly be presumed to afford a criterion of what the parties used to value the money at. But the judge might at the same time refuse to give the creditor any interest under exceptional circumstances ; as, for example, where interest contracted to be paid before due date was exorbitant and extortionate. In assessing damages, the question whether the creditor has unnecessarily delayed in bringing his suit, and so allowed his claim to mount up to a sum far in excess of the principal money advanced, may be taken into consideration as a reason for not making the original rate of interest, the basis on which to assess such damages. This was held in the case of *Bhagwan Singh vs. Darya Singh*, I. L. R. XII, All. 416. In these cases, however, the question of the intention of the parties to the contract was overlooked. There is very little doubt that in all such cases, where no mention is made of the payment of interest after due date, the intention of the parties is the primary thing ; but it is a pity that our Courts of Justice never tried to find out what was the intention of the parties entering into the contract. Is there any creditor under the sun who, after paying his good money to his debtor, does not wish that it should bear interest till it is paid off ? In fact, there is hardly any loan in the case of which the creditor does not wish this. What is the use of his lending if the money is not to bear any interest at all !

But some time elapsed before the Privy Council, only last year, hit the right point in the case of *Mathura Dass vs. Rajah Narendro Bahadur*, I. L. R. XIX, All 39. Here no payment was made on a mortgage for payment of principal

within a year and interest^{*}thereon at a stated rate. The deed provided that the borrower would not transfer the mortgaged property until the payment of the amount due for principal and interest in full, and that any money paid should be first credited to the latter. In a suit brought more than seven years after the date fixed for payment, the Courts below gave effect to the defence that the creditor had no right under the contract to the interest at the rate specified therein for a period after that date, and that limitation barred recovery of money by way of damages for breach of contract. It was held that the Courts below had erred as to the effect of the contract, and that there had been a failure to regard the intention shown by the conditions in the mortgage deed above mentioned. The High Court appeared to have acted on a fixed rule of construction, laid down for transactions of this kind, instead of arriving at the meaning of the deed by an examination of its terms. By a true construction of the contract, when the whole of it was considered, the creditor was entitled to the payment of the principal with interest at the rate stated in the deed for the entire period of non-payment. This should be down to the date of the decree of the First Court. In the decree should be added interest from its date till payment, at 6 per cent. per annum. Even supposing the construction put by the Courts below to have been correct, the creditor still might have recovered six years' arrears of interest by way of damages, notwithstanding limitation. There had been a breach of contract daily, while the principal remained unpaid and unbarred by time. The Full Bench case in *Narendra Bahadur Pal vs. Khadum Hossein* was not approved by their Lordships of the Privy Council, as it disregarded the conditions in the mortgage deed, indicating the intentions of the parties.

Intention in all these cases is, no doubt, the essence of the contract, and if, after reading the whole of a bond, it appears that it is the meaning of the parties that interest shall run on the loan as long as it remains unpaid, it is only natural that the Court should grant interest for the whole period. This is such a commonsense view of law, that it is astonishing that our courts of justice did not adopt it long ago. In common fairness to the creditor, it must be said that, unless it be an oversight, it can never be that any one shall advance money with a stipulation that interest will run only up to the due date and no further. That being so, there is hardly any doubt that the course followed by the Privy Council is the right and just one. This view of the law has been adopted by the Calcutta High Court in a recent case.

Now I shall deal with those cases where it is laid down that interest at the stipulated rate in mortgage suits should run up

to the time of the realisation of the whole money advanced, together with interests and costs. This, however, was never allowed in our Courts of Justice before; for it was all along held that, even during the pendency of the suit, interest should run at a reasonable rate, to be fixed by the Court. The passing of the Transfer of Property Act, no doubt, did away with this voluntary discretion of our Courts, for it was there laid down that interest should be awarded at the contract rate during the pendency of the suit, up to the time of decree. But this *concession* to the creditor was not granted until lately the Calcutta High Court held it to be so in several cases. Now the High Court has gone further and ruled that the contract rate should be granted up to the date of the realisation. The latest case on the point is I. L. R. 24, Calcutta 766, *Achalabala Bose, vs. Surendra Nath Dey*. In that case it was held that the Court has power, under a decree in a mortgage suit under Section 86 of the Transfer of Property Act, to allow interest subsequent to the date of decree and the date fixed by the decree for payment until realization.

In any suit other than a mortgage, interest at 6 per cent. only is allowed after its institution and up to the date of realization. This award of interest depends on the discretion of the Court and is allowed according to the provisions of the Civil Code Procedure. There are cases where the Court does not allow any interest after decree; but such instances are rare.

I shall now give some cases of Usury which have been supported by the highest Judicial tribunals of our country.

(a) In a suit to recover Rs. 30 principal and Rs. 355 interest due upon a bond, dated the 24th Assar 1286, by which it was agreed that principal with Rs. 2 as interest should be repaid on the 6th Srabon 1286, and in default of payment on that day, interest at the rate of 3 pies per rupee per diem should be paid from the date of default, it was pleaded that the stipulation to pay the higher rate of interest in default was in the nature of a penalty. It was held that it was not a penalty and that increased rate of interest should be paid. *Grish Chunder Guha, vs. Gour Chunder Dass* XII C. L. R. 161.

(b) In the case of *Surj Narain Singh, vs. Sirdhari Lal*, G. L. R. XII, 400, the sum advanced on a mortgage bond was Rs. 19,000 and Rs. 56,619 was the claim including interest. In this case it was held for the first time that any amount of interest over and above the principal could be legally allowed in the Mofussil, and so the entire claim was decreed.

(c) In *Hel N. Singh, vs. Ramdin Singh*, C. L. R. XII, 590, the principal was only Rs. 4,105; but interest came up to about Rs. 13,000. The whole claim was decreed.

(d) In the celebrated case of *Mackintosh vs. Crow*, which is the fulcrum on which all cases of prospective enhanced rates of interest are based, the principal was only Rs. 40, but the claim including interest was Rs. 190.

It was a case on a promissory note and the document dated the 9th November acknowledged a loan of Rs. 50 to be paid back in four days on the 13th November, and added, "in the event of default he shall pay interest at the rate of one rupee per diem." It was held by Justice Tyrrell that prospective enhancement of interest was not a penalty, and the whole claim was decreed with costs.

(e) Another case of some notoriety was decreed by the Allahabad High Court, in which the original sum advanced was Rs. 360 only, and interest Rs. 5,640, the entire claim coming up to Rs. 6,000. The whole amount was decreed. I. L. R. VI, All. 63.

All these are reported cases, but I shall now subjoin a few that are not reported cases, but have, nevertheless, been decided by our Courts of Justice. In one case of mortgage the sum advanced was Rs. 1,200 only, but a decree was given for no less a sum than Rs. 13,000. The bond contained stipulations for a rate of interest at Rs. 1-2 per cent. per mensem and compound interest at three-monthly rests. The whole claim was decreed by the Subordinate Judge of Hooghly only last year. In another the principal was only Rs. 5,000, but a claim for Rs. 66,000 as interest was made. The rate of interest up to due date was Rs. 2 and Rs. 4 per cent. per mensem subsequently. This suit was compromised by the parties for a sum of Rs. 19,000. This clearly shows that in certain transactions the parties themselves are always willing to pay a high rate of interest.

A case of a hard and unconscionable bargain was decided the other day in the Hooghly Subordinate Judge's Court. The plaintiff was no less a man than the young Mohunt of Tarkeshwar, who advanced a sum of Rs. 175 at a stipulated rate of one rupee interest per diem, and the claim was laid at the high figure of 1,200 rupees. It came out in the evidence that this money was lent only a few minutes before the defendant's tenure was to be sold for arrears of rent, and hence these onerous terms were agreed to by the latter. The Subordinate Judge allowed only 12 per cent. interest, holding that it was a case of hard and unconscionable contract, and setting it aside as an unscrupulous and unfair bargain.

It must be presumed that in a country where the Bank of Bengal can go so far as to charge 12 per cent. interest on pledge of Government securities at times every year, and other banks charge sometimes as high as 18 per cent., usury is

rather the normal state of things. What wonder, then, that private parties should charge very high rates of interest? It is known to everybody that in many cases private individuals borrow money first from the banks, and then lend it out to debtors. If the bank rate is high, it is only natural that a still higher rate of interest would be required by the parties offering a loan. The stringency of the money-market during the last few years, occasioned by the disruption of trade through plague, war, and famine, has necessarily kept up a usurious rate of interest for loans. It has slackened now and then, but only to revert to the same excessive rate as before.

I shall now discuss the full effect of the legislative enactment* of Mr. Chalmers on this much vexed question of Usury. It is better that I should allow him to state in his own words the intention of the Government in passing such a measure. In moving the Bill to a Select Committee, he said :—

“How then does the case stand? On the one hand the existing law sufficiently provides for the case of fraud; a contract induced by fraud may be avoided at the instance of the party defrauded. On the other, we do not wish to interfere with the discretion of the parties where they are in a position to give a free and intelligent consent to the terms of their contract. If a man makes a bad bargain, he must stick to it, and learn wisdom for the future. But then there is an intermediate class of cases, for which we think the law ought to make provision. There may be no fraud, but the relations between the parties to a contract may be such that one of them is practically in the power of the other, and that power may be used to extort unfair terms. In that case there is no real freedom of contract. There is consent, but it is consent obtained by unfair pressure. To some extent this intermediate case is provided for by the existing law; the Contract Act of 1872 provides for the avoidance of contracts in certain specified cases where undue influence has been used. But the framers of that Act did not see fit to embody in the Act the general principle which underlies the particular cases which they specified. This Act has now been in force for more than a quarter of a century, and it has been found wanting. Experience has shown that the existing provisions have failed to meet the evils with which we are now confronted. We must therefore enlarge the powers of the Courts; and we propose now to enact the underlying principle, and to provide that, where the relations between the parties to a contract are such that one of the parties is in a position to dominate the other, and he uses his dominant position to impose unfair terms on the other, then the Court is to be empowered to open up the whole transaction, and either set it aside, or, if the parties cannot be restored to their original position, to see that right and justice is done. Of course, the Court will have to be satisfied that such relations do subsist between the parties as to enable one of them to dominate the will and consent of the other; but when this is shown, we think that the Court ought to have a free hand to go behind the terms of the contract and to see whether the transaction is fair and reasonable or not.

Now I wish to point out that in arming the Court with these powers we are not really making a new departure. The principle we propose to enact is a familiar one in English Courts of Equity.

It will be seen at a glance from the above that there exist no very great reasons whatever for this piece of legislation. That the Government is desirous of putting down extortionate and unconscionable contracts, he who runs may read, although it does not say so in so many words. Now, cases of this kind have been decided in the most favourable terms to the debtor by our Courts of Justice, and there is hardly any room for improvement. Viewed cursurily, these bargains may call forth strong censure from the public, but when looked at more attentively, there is little doubt that many of them will appear as good as others. Now the class of cases to which the rule of hard and unconscionable bargain has been applied are generally those in which the debtor, being hard-pressed for money, and without any other means of obtaining a loan, goes finally to one who asks for a very high rate of interest for parting with his money. One particular instance in this country is the time of revenue sale, when, more or less, every person owning an inch of land has to look sharp for the purpose of paying his charges to the Government. If, under these hard circumstances, a man were to pay another a sum of money for the purpose of protecting the latter's property from being sold up, and charge an excessively high rate of interest at the eleventh hour, what would be his position? Why, under the present enactment, as well as under the old, he would be called a usurer and Shylock, and, as the contract was agreed upon under the most pressing necessity, it would most certainly be set aside! While, on the other hand, if this man had, without the least pressure of circumstances, and of his own accord, nevertheless, as in the other case, got a loan from him at however high a rate of interest he could, his bargain would be as valid a contract as one could make. In the eye of the law the first contract is a usurious and unscrupulous bargain, while the second is a most proper and rightful one. But how the law arrives at this conclusion is a riddle too difficult for solution. A man who provides me with money at the eleventh hour, when I am hopeless of getting it from elsewhere, is surely worthy to get a far higher rate of interest than he who advances money to spendthrifts who borrow without necessity and think that "money kept longer than three days stinks." In the first case the creditor comes forward with his money, and, although he asks a very high price for its use from his debtor, nevertheless saves the latter's property from being sold up, while in the second case he advances money without any necessity, knowing full well that it will be frittered away on useless, nay immoral purposes, and, taking advantage of this fact, he imposes a most usurious rate of interest. Yet our Courts of Justice have often upheld the latter class of im-

pious contracts and set aside the former, which are far more just and righteous in their nature.

Instead of putting down with a strong hand the latter class of contracts, the Legislature and the Government seem to have gone entirely the wrong way and put their stamp of approbation on these, while they have interfered with a class of contracts which have presumably done benefit to mankind in general, and proved a boon and blessing in the majority of cases. The present enactment is mainly based on these lines, and it will undoubtedly not be productive of unimixed good in the future. One bad effect of it will be the great unwillingness of a very large class of money-lenders to lend money to people during their greatest necessity, such as in times of revenue and execution sales, when they drive a good business by charging a high rate of interest, and the result will be that more properties will be brought to the hammer than before. A man won't grudge to pay a very high rate of interest when his hearth, and home, or his valuable property, is going to be sold away; but the Government by this legislation positively discourages money-lenders from advancing money to him even on occasions of such critical importance. Loans to friends and relations stand in the same critical position, and yet there are times when such transactions are forced upon us by a combination of circumstances. The Government seems to have taken into its head the wise saying of Polonius: 'Never a borrower, nor a lender be, for loan oft loses itself and friend', in its literal sense, and legislated accordingly. To say clearly, in so many words that Government does not wish to interfere with free contracts of parties, and the rate of interest that is settled between them, and, express an inclination in the same breath to interfere on behalf of debtors who contract loans at a high rate of interest when they are most hard-pressed for money, is an anomaly which is hard to reconcile.

I shall pause, here for a moment, and examine some of the cases of hard and unconscionable bargain which have been decided by our Courts of Justice, and on the *ratio decidendi* of which the present legislation is based.

The first reported case on this point is in the Indian Law Reports, I Calcutta 108. Here a Hindu, resident and domiciled, in Calcutta, and possessed of lands in the mofussil, borrowed in Calcutta a sum of money from the plaintiff, a professional money-lender, and agreed by his bond to repay the principal with interest at 36 per cent. per annum in Calcutta. The defendant's age, at the time he executed the bond, was sixteen years and one or two months. On the merits of the case, Justice Phear found that the agreement was unconscion-

able, and one which a Court of equity would not enforce. In the Court of Appeal, Justice Macpherson, in up-holding Justice Phear's judgment, said :—" We are of opinion that the plaintiff is entitled to a decree for what he actually advanced, with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, and to nothing more. It is an entire mistake to suppose that, because the law against usury has been repealed, a money lender can, as a matter of course, enforce a contract such as this made with a young man who has only just attained the legal age of majority. *Miller v.s. Cook*, L.R., 10 Eq., 641 and *Earl of Aylesford v.s., Morris* L.R., 8 Ch., App. 484, are, clear authorities that the jurisdiction of the Court over unconscionable bargains of this nature is not affected by the repeal of the usury laws. The remarks of the Lord Chancellor in the latter of these cases are very pertinent to the state of facts now before us. After referring to the old Usury Laws and arbitrary rule of equity as to sales on reversions, Lord Selbourne says :—" Both have been abolished by the legislature ; but the abolition of the Usury Laws still leaves the nature of the bargain capable of being a note of fraud in the estimation of the Court It is sufficient for the application of this principle, if the parties meet under such circumstances as, in the particular transaction, to give the stronger party dominion over the weaker ; and such power and influence are generally possessed, in every transaction of this kind, by those who trade upon the follies and vices of unprotected youth, inexperience, and moral imbecility. In the cases of catching bargains with expectant heirs, one peculiar feature has been almost universally present ; indeed its presence was considered by Lord Brougham to be an indispensable condition of equitable relief, though Lord St. Leonards, with good reason, dissents from that opinion. The victim (for this system of dealing does set snares ; not, perhaps, for one prodigal more than another, but for prodigals, generally as a class,) is excluded, and known to be excluded, by the very motives and circumstances which attract him, from the help and advice of his natural guardians and protectors, and from that professional aid which would be accessible to him, if he did not feel compelled to secrecy. He comes in the dark and in fetters, without either the will or the power to take care of himself and with nobody else to take care of him. Great judges have said that there is a principle of public policy in restraining this.' "

The plaintiff was therefore only entitled to a decree for the amount actually received by the defendant from him, with interest at 6 per cent.

Much of these learned and capital arguments will lose their force at the present day, when the legislature, by

passing the Majority Act, IX of 1875, has laid down as a general rule for all persons domiciled in British India or the Allied States, that the completion of the 18th year marks the cessation of a person's minority. This was done with the express intention of extending the age of minority which was prevalent here, according to Hindu Law, up to the 16th year, and thus allowing a minor to act with perfect freedom and responsibility in his dealings with others. To have increased this limit of minority by a space of two years and declared his full liberty of action by a statute law, should have been deemed a sufficient protection, on behalf of people of that class; but it is really going too far, when by legislation it is intended to take away that liberty and consider his contract null and void, whenever he chooses to enter into any foolish or imprudent bargain, even years after his period of minority. In such cases, whenever protection is given under the law to any one, it is more than probable that another man's rights are endangered, in nine cases out of ten. With the law of *damdut* in full force within the limits of the Mahratta Ditch, it is quite inconceivable how unconscionable bargains should exist with respect to loan transactions, especially with reference to high rates of interest, as it can never exceed the principal in any case.

There is an admirable judgment of Mr. Justice Straight, Offg. Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, on this point of unconscionable bargain, which I must refer to here at some length. An illiterate Kurmi, in the position of a peasant proprietor, executed a mortgage bond in favour of a professional money-lender to whom he owed Rs. 97, by which he agreed to pay interest on that sum at the rate of 24 per cent. per annum at compound interest. He further agreed that *dharia*, or a yearly fine, at the rate of one anna per rupee, should be allowed to the mortgagee, to be calculated by yearly rests. Ten years after the date of the mortgage, the mortgagor brought a suit for redemption on payment of only Rs. 97. At that time the account made up by the mortgagee showed that the debt of Rs. 97, with compound interest, had swollen to Rs. 873, of which the *dharia* alone amounted to Rs. 211. After entering into further details of this case Mr. Justice Straight observes :—"The practical result is, that for the Rs. 97, Ram Prasad is sought to be made liable to pay interest at the rate of Rs. 77 per annum. I then have to ask myself, is it within reason or conscience that this Court or any other Court of Justice should be made the medium for enforcing such one-sided and unconscionable terms? No doubt, I have no right to usurp jurisdiction; but, has not this Court, as a Court of Equity, authority to do what the Courts of Equity in England

have over and over again done, namely to relieve the party who has been grievously disadvantaged by another, from the strict letter of his contract ; I think that it has.' After quoting some English authorities in support of this view, he writes :— ' Now what is the state of things here ? The plaintiff, an uneducated, ignorant countryman of one of the most rural districts within our jurisdiction, found himself unable to pay Rs. 97 to his creditor. The creditor, an astute Brahmin money—lender, knowing that, in their relative positions, one to the other, he can almost dictate any terms, proceeds to put forward the agreement the onerous conditions of which I have explained at the outset of my judgment. It is obvious that in reality the debtor had little or no choice but to accept them, and that much in the same way as a young spend-thrift will give his promissory note for a large amount, so long as he gets a small sum of present cash, the plaintiff was in his case willing to consent to any proposal to escape from his immediate embarrassment. It is equally clear to my mind that the object the defendant had in view, knowing the plaintiff's pecuniary capabilities, was to put him under such terms that, unless he obtained funds from foreign sources, he would never be able to redeem his share, and it would thus inevitably fall into his hands. It is bargains of this description between the small village proprietors and the money-lenders that are gradually working the extinction of the former class in many of the country districts, and producing results which are not only a serious scandal, but a positive mischief. For it is to be borne in mind that the pecuniary difficulties of the persons I have mentioned are as often as not the result of misfortune rather than improvidence, and that bad seasons have as much to do with causing them as waste or extravagance. Whichever way it be, this is certain, that the money-lenders, as any one that sits in this court must see, are to an alarming extent absorbing proprietary interests in the village communities, and that the body of ex-proprietors is enormously on the increase. It is of course not my business here to discuss the the policy that should govern the action of the State in dealing with this state of things ; but, as a Judge having power to enforce equitable principles, I am resolutely determined, until I am set right by higher authority, to give effect, in cases of this kind, to the principles propounded by the eminent lawyers to whose utterances I have referred, and to see that justice is done." It was, therefore, held that the stipulation in the deeds as to *dharita* was not of the kind referred to in S. 74 of the Contract Act (IX of 1872), and that there was no question of penalty, but that, looking to the relative position of the parties and the unconscionable and oppressive

nature of the stipulation, the benefit thereof should be disallowed to the mortgagee, and the mortgagor permitted to redeem on payment of the mortgage money and interest I. L. R., IX, All., 74, *Lalli vs. Ram Prosad*. There is very little doubt that the above remarks are pregnant with truth, and that, if legislation is anywhere needed, it is for the amelioration of the poverty-stricken peasantry of this country, overburdened with debt and hampered by an excessive demand of land revenue. Generally they live in the most out of the way places, beyond the reach of civilization and influence of the educated classes. It is no wonder that they should be thrown at times entirely on the mercy of unscrupulous money-lenders without any adviser to keep them in the straight road. As far as this class is concerned, the present legislation will undoubtedly do a great deal of good to them and will be welcomed by all with joy and delight.

In another case reported in I. L. R., IX, All, 228, *Madho Singh vs. Kashi Ram*, a sum of Rs. 99, due upon a bond with compound interest at 2 per cent. per mensem, was advanced, and the debt long remained unsatisfied, so that compound interest at a high rate accumulated for a long time. The defendant, who was the debtor, was hard pressed at the time for immediate payment of revenue due. It was held that it was a case of hard and unconscionable bargain, and the suit was decreed for the principal sum with simple interest at 24 per cent. per annum. The original claim was Rs. 679-14.

In strict justice, this case should have been decreed in full, as the advantage taken by the creditor was of the fact that at the time he was hard pressed for Government revenue. Now this is a most strange and unreasonable argument put forth on behalf of the debtor to show that his case was really a hard one. It alone should have been sufficient to convince the Court that the man who advanced money at a time of dire necessity should be paid off in full and that the terms agreed upon should be treated as a sacred contract. That the money was unpaid for a long time, was no fault of the creditor, and it seems very hard that he should be mulcted for his patience in waiting so long for its payment, which it was certainly the duty of the debtor to make as promptly as he could.

As to the charge, that some money-lenders throw temptation in the way of young debtors, it is, at least in most cases, as groundless as it can be. But there is no denying the fact that shopkeepers actually throw far greater temptation in the way of their customers, and get from them far more extortionate terms than money-lenders can even imagine.

Silver and goldsmiths of the most respectable class charge rates which are simply appalling! Give them a pound of gold

to be made into jewellery, one-eighth of it will go for melting and on the rest a charge of at least fifty per cent. is made. But who ever heard that any one of these shopkeepers or firms had been deprived of their just dues by any Court of Justice ? The real fact is that we gladly pay any amount for our fineries and luxuries, however unjust and extortionate the charges may be ; but we grudge paying the dues of the money-lender, whose money is often the source of our happiness and comfort, perhaps with which we buy the very articles of our luxury !

It has now been held that the *damduput* rule applies only where the debtor is a Hindu. In the case of *Dawood Durvesh vs. Vullubhdoss Purbhotan*, I. L. R. Bombay 227, the debtor was a Mahomedan, and so the mortgage suit for redemption could not be decreed unless he paid off the original sum of Rs. 6,500, and interest, Rs. 11,019. In another case I. L. R. 21, Bombay 38, the same principle was followed, and it was further held that a Mahomedan debtor could not, by any assignment, prejudice his creditor, or reduce the amount due to him ; nor could he, by assigning his land to a Hindu, free it from any charge which existed on it at the date of the assignment. But the contrary was not held to be correct in the case of *Ali Saheb vs. Shahji*, I. L. R. 21 Bombay 85. In this case a Hindu mortgaged his property to a Mahomedan. The former's interest was sold to a Mahomedan. It was held that as long as the mortgagor was a Hindu, the rule of *damduput* applied, and that, as soon as the interest doubled the principal, further interest stopped ; but again, when a Mahomedan became a debtor, this rule no longer applied, the stop was removed, and interest again began to run.

Such is the state of law prevalent here and the rate of interest between the two great races of mankind—'the borrower and the lender'—of which the world is composed in the opinion of the writer of the "Essays of Elia."

The worst system of usury, which really calls for the interference of Government, is that which is prevalent in Orissa. There, a man who is indebted to a wealthy creditor will work as a slave from 'morn to dewy eve' at his house without any remuneration whatsoever until the whole loan with interest is paid off. Sometimes the debtor dies, but his wife and children become bound in fetters for the same debt. Had I Mrs. Stowe's imaginative faculty, I would have written another 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' making the poor Urya Debtor my hero.

The alteration in the definition of 'Undue Influence' which is the essence of the present legislation, will keep an open door for litigation. Undue influence is thus defined:—16, S. "A contract is said to be induced by 'undue influence' where the parties to the contract do not contract on a footing of

equality, but one of the parties is in a position to dominate the other, and uses that position to obtain an unfair advantage over the other, to make him consent to terms to which he would not have otherwise consented." Now, is not this bugbear of 'domination' of too vague and general a character to be of any use to our Courts of Justice? Loans are seldom contracted between parties on a footing of equality; and where is the lender who does not naturally dominate the borrower? The Select Committee has made some slight changes on the point, which I don't think have improved matters in the least. Now, a person is said to dominate another—(a) where he holds a real or apparent authority over the other, or, where there is a fiduciary relation between the parties, or (b) where he makes a contract with a person who is naturally feeble-minded, or, whose mental capacity is temporarily or permanently affected by reason of age, illness, mental or bodily distress, or other 'special circumstances.' Here it is difficult to understand how one holds a real or apparent authority over the other. A master holds a real authority over his servant, and so does a lessor over his lessee, an examiner over an examinee, a landlord over his tenant, and so on. Are all contracts entered between them to be set aside as due to 'undue influence,' especially if the terms are advantageous to the party in authority? If that be so, which is simply ridiculous, then all business with respect to contracts between such persons will be at a standstill, and rest on most precarious grounds in this country after the passing of these amendments. The result of these alterations in the existing law will be to promote litigation and frustrate the very ends of justice which it is the desire of the legislature to see enforced. In every case where interest is high, the debtor will be ready with his pleas of 'domination' and unequal footing, and will harass the money-lender to his heart's content. If this is not doing injury to the latter, and in an indirect way to the growing trade and prosperity of this country, I do not know what injury is. No borrower will have a moment's peace or rest. Before he can find time to pay off the loan, he will be put into Court by the lender, who will be always prompt to bring his suit before interest has accumulated to a large extent. In cases of contracts of an unconscionable nature entered into by the dominant party, the onus of proving that the transaction was a fair one and not induced by undue influence will be on the lender. As shown above, the Courts of Justice in India have, by the light of English rules of law and equity, always relieved borrowers from hard and unconscionable bargains. The present tinkering legislation on this point will make matters more confusing. To leave parties to contract freely at any

rate of interest they like, and then turn round, and interfere on behalf of debtors when this interest has accumulated to a very high figure, under a euphemistic phrase—'hard and unconscionable bargain'—is absurd. If you allow freedom of contract and do not restrict the rate of interest, you must allow a large accumulated sum which has grown from a high rate of interest, as interest. Your 'hard and unconscionable' bargain is but another way of saying that the contract rate of interest cannot be allowed. Now, to relieve borrowers who have been ground down by usury, is certainly a duty of a good Government; but legislation on this subject is so difficult that it requires a most brilliant, clever and able legislator to grapple successfully with the intricacies of the subject, and weigh the necessities of the unhappy borrower without at the same time doing an injustice to the lender. Unfortunately Mr. Chalmers has failed in his efforts to do so.

Regarding the question of penalty as stated in the amended Section 74 of the Contract Act, I find that the legislature has actually played second fiddle to the case laws already decided on the point. It seems that it has been more successful in this instance, than in that of unconscionable bargain, as already discussed and pointed out. At present the case law on this section amounts to this, that in the class of cases containing stipulations for retrospective enhancement of interest after default, they are held to be a penalty, but they are not so, if they are of a prospective character. The Bombay High Court has, in the case of *Umra Khan vs. Sale Khan*, however, in I. L. R. 17. Bombay 106, held "that a proviso for enhanced interest in the *future* cannot be considered as a penalty, unless the enhanced rate is such as to lead to the conclusion that it could not have been intended to be part of the primary contract between the parties." It seems that Justices Ghose and Rampini have done exactly the same recently in the case of *Pardhan Bhu Dhan Lal vs. Narsing Dyal*, 3, C. W. N. 175, following the Bombay High Court, although all the previous decisions of the Calcutta High Court are entirely at variance with it. The present amendment of Section 74 has been made exactly on the principles of the above two cases, and an explanation has been added to it to the effect that a stipulation for an enhanced rate of interest from the date of default may be a penalty.

The first draft for a law of contract for India was prepared in England by the Indian Law Commissioners. There were several points in the Bill which evoked very hot, and protracted discussion. Some portions of it were recast in this country. Ample room was given in it for Courts of Justice to set aside cases of contracts brought about by 'undue influence.' The

ordinary rule is, that "if people with their—eyes open choose willfully and knowingly to enter into unconscionable bargains, the law has no right to protect them." *Mackintosh v Wingrove*, I. L. R. 4. Cal 135, *Mir Azimu v Tiaulikisa*, 6 Bom. 309, and *Appa Ran v Saryanaryan*, Mad, 203, as well as *Wallis v Smith*, 21. Ch. Div 243 are all cases in point. But where the facts of the case, disclosing clearly weakness on one side, usury on the other, or extortion or advantage taken of that weakness, raise a presumption of fraud in the sense of an unconscientious use of the power arising out of those circumstances, the transaction cannot stand, unless the party claiming the benefit of it can repel the presumption by evidence proving it to have been in point of fact fair, just, and reasonable. This view of the law is expressed in the well-known Chancery case, L. R. 8. ch. 484, 490 of *Aylesford v. Morris*. Looking at the clear and expressive language set forth in these English cases, which have laid down the principles of the law that should guide all Courts of Justice, there is little doubt that the present legislation has not been happy in its choice of words and phrases in the amendment of the two sections of the Contract Act.

I have already referred at length to cases in which this equitable relief has been given—such as in dealings of the money-lender with an expectant heir or reversioner, the bargain being made with an eye to the expectancy, with *pardanashin* women, acting without advice, and with illiterate peasants to whom money was lent on exorbitant terms of interest.

During the passing of the Act in 1872, Section 16 was much discussed in the Legislative Council, the Lieutenant Governor of this Province considering that it did not go far enough to be of any use in cases of contracts entered into by persons whose social inferiority, ignorance, or inexperience, was likely to be taken advantage of by those with whom they dealt, for the purpose of driving a hard bargain; and he proposed, as an additional illustration to the section, the case of a rich and powerful Zemindar who induces poor and ignorant ryots, holding under him, to engage to grow certain produce for a term of years on conditions to which an independent ryot would not have consented. It was urged, on the other-hand, that it would be dangerous to entrust the Courts with the power of setting aside any bargain which they considered oppressive, and that ample relief was afforded by the section. The illustration proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor was ultimately abandoned, and the Council at the same time determined to omit other illustrations annexed to the section.

What was abandoned then as useless, and not feasible, has been exactly brought about after a space of a quarter of a

century by the successors of the Indian Legislative Department, and, what is more strange, is being passed as good and sound law in this country. How far the amendments will bring forth wholesome results, time only can show, but there is hardly any doubt that they must be still further modified on the model of the English cases and the principles which have guided the English Courts, before they can be expected to do any lasting good to the country.

It may be interesting to take a glance at the various Regulations which were passed nearly a century ago by the old Company's Government for the purpose of restricting the rates of interest in this province. A law was passed on 1st May 1793, Regulation XV of that year, by the Governor-General in Council, for fixing the rates of interest on past and future loans. In cases where the cause of action arose before 28th March 1780, it was enacted as follows:—‘The Courts of Civil Judicature are not to decree higher, or lower rates, of interest than the following:— (1) On sums not exceeding one hundred sicca rupees, three rupees and two annas per cent. per mensem, or thirty-seven rupees and eight annas per cent. per annum (2) On sums exceeding one hundred sicca rupees, two per cent. per mensem, or twenty-four per cent. per annum. In cases where the cause of action arose between 28th March 1780 and 1st January 1793, it was enacted that on sums exceeding one hundred rupees only twelve per cent. interest per annum was to be allowed, and on sums not exceeding one hundred rupees twenty-four per cent. interest per annum would be allowed. In cases, however, where the stipulated rate of interest was lower than the above, the lower rate of interest was to be decreed.

The next enactment passed for determining the rate of interest, was Regulation XXXIV of 1803, which became essential to the advancement of commerce and the security of property. The rate of interest fixed was as follows:—on sums not exceeding one hundred sicca rupees, thirty per cent. per annum, and on sums exceeding one hundred rupees twenty-four per cent. per annum.

By Regulation XVII of 1806 the provisions contained in the several sections of Regulation XV of 1793 were declared to extend to the Province of Benares from the commencement of the ensuing year, 1807, with this reservation, however, that if the cause of action should have arisen before the period stated in the Regulation of 1793, the Courts were to decree whatever rate of interest might have been voluntarily stipulated; or if interest was payable in any case wherein a specified rate might not have been stipulated, according to the law and usage of the province, in conformity with the spirit of

Regulation VII of 1795, which directed with respect to bills of exchange, receipts, or notes of hand, that the custom of the country was to be abided by, and with respect to dealings and money transactions amongst mahajuns, and shroffs, that the established customs observed and enforced amongst them were to be adhered to by the Courts in their inquiries and decisions.

These laws in force relating to Usury were repealed by Act XXVIII of 1855, and the following provision was made for the rate of interest—Section 2. ‘In any suit in which interest is recoverable, the amount shall be adjudged or decreed by the Court at the rate (if any) agreed upon by the parties; and if no rate shall have been agreed upon, at such rate as the Court shall deem reasonable.’ Section 3 provides that the rate of interest in a judgment or decree shall be what the Court shall think fit. A contract or mortgage, for the loan of money, by which it is agreed that the use, or usufruct of any property shall be allowed in lieu of interest, shall be binding upon the parties, according to Section 4 of this Act. The rate of interest in any case in which an adjustment of accounts may become necessary upon any mortgage, conditional sale of landed property, or other contract, whatsoever, shall be calculated according to the rate stipulated therein, or if no interest shall have been stipulated, and interest be payable under the terms of the contract, at such rate as the Court shall deem reasonable.

The Contract Act does not provide for any rate of interest, which, however, is to be adjudged according to the terms of the contract entered into between the parties; but it deals with instances such as undue influence, fraud, misrepresentation, &c., which go a great way towards affecting the terms of the Contract and setting them aside.

The well-known proverb that procrastination is the thief of time, is most truly applicable to the debtor if the word ‘money’ only is used for ‘time’—for ‘time’ in his case means nothing else but ‘money.’ The debtor, as a rule thinks no more of the money he borrows than the man in the moon. As an invariable consequence of his supreme indifference towards his loan transactions, he seldom repays money, and when he thinks of repaying it after the lapse of some time, he is not in a position to pay it off, as interest has accumulated to a large amount. To pay off this debt by getting rid of his mortgaged property, even at the eleventh hour, by sale, will be a boon and blessing to him; but he cannot do it. Like a loving father who dotes on his dying child, he sticks more closely to his property, overburdened as it is with debt. You may ask a debtor to pay you at once, but he will put you off with all sorts of excuses. He will beg for time eternally, and you will always have

to accede to his request. At last, when you put him into court, you are roundly abused as a knave and a Shylock, lusting after your "pound of flesh." The legislature steps in, and brands your bargain with that most opprobrious epithet—'Unconscionable'!

Charles Lamb in his "Essays on Elia" has divided the world into two great classes—those who lend and those who borrow. He appositely calls the latter class great men, and the former little, and he is right in his appellation as far as the numerical strength of these two races of mankind is concerned. In number the debtors exceed the lenders, in the proportion of ninety-nine to a hundred, and if proper statistics be taken, it may go beyond that. The lenders are thus a 'microscopic minority,' in the literal sense of the term, in the social fabric of the community in every country. It therefore happens that, whenever any legislation is undertaken against the profits of money-lending, it is carried with very little opposition. The majority of the public, who mostly belong to the other class, are glad of it, for it will redound in the end to their advantage. What plain sailing the Government is having, with regard to this Contract Act Amendment Bill in the Legislative Council! Not a single opposing voice is heard within its sacred precincts! What supreme indifference to the interests of the capitalists of this country! There is a dead silence in the Press, as if nothing had happened. Indeed, no discussion whatsoever has taken place either in the Council Chamber, or in the newspapers on such an important point. What is the reason that the Indian Press, which is readily set ablaze over a Consent Act or an Ilbert Bill, has now put the seal of silence on its lips? What boots it, if the capitalist or the money-lender is shorn of a little of his superfluous sum of interest? Thus the money-lender is placed at all times in a most false and unique position. He shall help others in times of hard necessity with money, but no one—not even the Government—shall help him to realize his dues;—for everyone thinks, in his fanciful fashion, that the money-lender gets too much in the bargain, and there is no very great harm in mulcting his profits a little. None ever thinks even of the most imminent risks he has to run in many cases!

J. L. CHAUDHURY.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE discussions which took place in Council on the occasion of the passing of the Bill to amend the Contract Act have done a great deal to pacify the opinion which prevailed in certain quarters that the amendments, when passed, would endanger the rights of the money-lending class and interfere in a great way with the realization of money from debtors. In opening the discussion Mr. Chalmers very admirably said :—

That the Bill when it became law was not intended in any way to affect *bona fide* titles or business transactions. They had tried to make it clear, that what they provided against were cases in which one man had another, more or less, under his power—where there were old relations existing between them, which enabled one man to put pressure upon another, and that the measure had nothing to do, so to speak, with any business transaction in the open market.

Such reassuring words will doubtless remove much misconception, and the amendments as passed into law, if properly administered, may confer some small boon on the country. The misgivings which had arisen in the mind of a certain section of the public were well described by the Maharajah of Durbhanga, when he said :—

The serious thing about the Bill seems to be, as His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab remarks in his letter to Your Excellency's Government on the subject, the dangerously wide discretion which the Bill seeks to confer on the Munsifs and Subordinate Judges in this country. I cannot help fearing that the Bill, if passed into law, may lead to considerable increase in litigation and to more appeals, and that the only certain gainers will be the unscrupulous large practitioners in the mofussil, who will do their very best to foster disputes between the money-lender and the agriculturist, and also to apply the law to contracts it was never intended to affect.

This view was reiterated by the Hon'ble Mr. Smeaton, who, in supporting, remarked that the risk of abuse certainly existed, as had been pointed out in strong language by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

The Hon'ble Nawab Fyazali Khan, in the course of his speech made the following somewhat astounding observations :—

Cases are well known where the Courts have refused to go behind the letter of contracts, however hard and inequitable and induced by undue influence, and this has resulted, as no doubt most of us are aware, in the complete ruin of many old and respectable families. Contracts to secure debts have particularly led to such disastrous results. My Lord, the British Government is based on sympathy for its subjects, justice and generosity, and instances might be multiplied where Her Majesty's Government has, with that sympathy and generosity, come to the aid of Her subjects, and has relieved the weak from the oppressions of the strong.

As far as his statement goes, that many old and respectable families have been ruined by entering into hard, inequitable and unconscionable bargains with money-lenders, I join issue with him, and ask him to point out a single case of that sort. On the contrary, I say that rich and respectable gentlemen—especially his own co-religionists—have, in the matter of contracting loans, shown such utter recklessness that, in not a few instances, their creditors have been cheated out right. These old and wealthy aristocratic families often live in a style far beyond their income, and hence have no alternative open to them but to borrow, heedless of the inevitable ruin that awaits them in the end. I could mention instances where representatives of old aristocratic houses, after mortgaging their entire estate to creditors, silently begged their friends to lend them large sums of money on notes of hand, but never repaid it. In most instances they simply saved themselves by passing through the Insolvency Courts. Does the Hon'ble Nawab know how many good friends who lent their generous support to these needy gentlemen were ruined?

If the present enactment had been passed with a view to protecting such an unscrupulous class of debtors, it would be a danger and calamity to society. But that it is not such an evil, has been strongly testified by a host of speakers who took part in the debate.

It was reserved for the Hon'ble P. Mehta to speak the plain truth about agricultural indebtedness and to show clearly that the Government with all its benevolent ideas of reform, is at the root of it. No one, from Lord Curzon down to the humblest official member who sat in the Council, ventured to challenge the statement. This is what Mr. Mehta said :—

We are familiar with the piteous tales which are told of the helplessness of the ryot gripped in the claws of the sowcar bird of prey. But the picture is not altogether true to nature. The ryot is, no doubt, illiterate and uneducated. But those who know him as he really is, and not as he exists in the imagination of the people who like to pose as *ma-bap* to him, know that he possesses a very fair share of shrewdness and intelligence, and can negotiate a bargain with the sowcar with clear comprehension of his interest and position, and even with some degree of cunning. Why he is not able to cope with his creditor is, not because of his ignorance, but in consequence of his necessitous position. This position, it must not be forgotten, is as largely owing to the pressure of the State landlord as to the grasping rapacity of the money-lender. To speak only of the Bombay Presidency, it was admitted by Sir Theodore Hope, himself a Bombay Revenue Officer, in his speech in the Council in introducing the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Bill, that "to our Revenue system must in candour be ascribed some share in the indebtedness of the ryot." The Commission appointed in 1891 to enquire into the working of the Relief Act emphatically reported, "that there could be no question that the rigidity of the Revenue Assessment system is one of the main causes which lead the ryots of the Deccan into fresh debt."

He also appropriately referred to the difficulty of the question in these words :—

There is no branch of law or legislation in dealing with which it is so easy to go wrong and in which mistakes are so fraught with far reaching consequences, as the branch with which the Bill before the Council proposes to deal.

That the question was a perfect nettle was also admitted by the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnivas :—

So far the proposed law seemed to be right in principle, but the question was whether it would secure the desired end. It was not to be forgotten that in the present state of India, all artificial restrictions upon lending and borrowing money, would make the terms for the borrower harder than ever. It was doubtful whether all the checks that human ingenuity could devise would come to the borrowers' help when the Sowcar made up his mind to take undue advantage of each opportunity that offered itself to him. There were as many methods by which a lender could harrass a helpless borrower, as there were borrowers to harrass a helpless lender when repayment of a loan had to be made.

The aspersions so wildly cast on the money-lenders as a class have been repudiated by no less an official than the Hon'ble Mr. Rivaz, who defended them as follows :—

The money lender is a most useful and even indispensable element in the composition of rural society throughout the country, and I am ready to believe that in the main the money-lending classes are reasonably fair and just in their dealings with their agricultural clients.

Mr. Chalmers also supported this view :—

As the Hon. Mr. Rivaz said, they recognised the money-lender as an essential factor in Indian society as at present constituted, and they did gladly recognise that a great mass of the transactions between money-lenders and agriculturists were fair and reasonable transactions. In some parts of India there was no doubt the money-lender was to blame. They were not legislating against a class, but against unconscionable bargains. That was the sole purport of this Bill.

In his reply, Mr. Chalmers explained the scope of the Act and how far it was intended to act as a guide to our Courts of Justice. This is what he said :—

“The Courts here only follow English equity or English decisions where there is no binding rule of Indian law, and where they are administering the law according to justice, equity and good conscience. That, I think, answers my hon'ble friend the Maharaja of Darbhanga's difficulty. Surely it is better for us to lay down a line to indicate the lines on which these lower Courts are to act, than to leave them free to wander over all the decisions of English equity; or, to quote from the work quoted by the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, *Story's equity jurisprudence*—which is an American book—it is much safer to indicate to these lower Courts the general lines on which they are to proceed, than to leave them free to wander at will over all English and American jurisprudence.”

"Then another point was made. It was suggested that there was some objection to this Bill, in so far as it gave retrospective effect to the new provisions. There, again, we are, in point of fact, merely limiting the discretion of the Courts, and indicating on what lines perfectly unfettered discretion is to be exercised, and of course the Bill will only apply to suits brought after the commencement of the Act. It will have nothing to do with pending suits."

"There is one other point that my Hon'ble friend Sir Griffith Evans has called attention to, and which I am glad he did call attention to and that is the use of the words 'subsisting relations.' That, I think, was necessary. It was necessary to point out that at the moment the contract is entered into, there must be something external to the contract itself which puts one party in the power of the other. The mere fact that one man has money and another man wants it does not give rise to an unconscionable contract. There must be at the moment of the contract—the relations may have sprung into existence almost contemporaneously—some relations which give one party an unfair pull over the other"

"Then my Hon'ble friend Sir Griffith Evans also pointed out that there may be certain cases of equitable contracts quite outside this Act. As regards these contracts the powers of the Courts still remain, but the object of this Act is partly to direct the lower Courts as to the lines on which they should move, and partly to call the attention of the Courts to the fact that they have powers further and other than those already given by the Indian Contract Act. It is quite true that that doctrine has been recognised here, but it has not been recognised generally all over India. The Courts have held themselves bound to the particular words of the Act, and have refused to look into inequitable bargains because they were bound by the terms of the Act and could not go behind them. We have to remind the Courts that they can go behind them, and at the same time we have laid down the lines on which they can go behind them."

Mr. Chalmers thought that the addition of the words, 'subsisting relations,' as suggested by Sir Griffith Evans was indispensable to show that at the time of the contract there was something outside it to put one party under the control or dominion of the other. But at the same time, after accepting it, when he said that the relations of domination might spring into existence almost contemporaneously with the contract he seemed, at everyone endowed with common sense would doubtless think to be trifling instead of legislating! Indeed the suggestion of Sir Griffith Evans made it sufficiently clear that this relationship should be a long-standing one and not

brought into existence then and there. The effect of the learned legal member's explanation had a tendency to nullify the entire gist of this suggestion which had been accepted and embodied in the law !

That there are unscrupulous money-lenders in this country no one denies, and every one will be glad to see a severe check put on their avocations. It is only fair and just that such people should be adequately punished and dealt with. It is the desire of all right-thinking citizens that 'unconscionable' loan transactions, in the real sense of the word, should be interfered with, if possible, by the provisions of law and their victims saved from ruin and destruction. At the same time loan transactions between respectable parties at a fair and reasonable rate of interest should not be disturbed by any means, but allowed free scope.

J. L. C.

ART. VII.—ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY
OF THE CONQUEST OF THE PANJAB.

"Et cujus pars parva fui," 1845-6.

I N the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1898, the reader will find a Chapter in the History of the Conquest of the Panjáb which I found by accident among old papers dating half a century ago. This Chapter commences February 11th, 1846, on which date we crossed the River Satlaj, invaded the Panjáb and captured Lahór. But during the month of December, 1845, and January, and the first portion of February, 1846, remarkable events had taken place, of all of which I was a witness, and it occurs to me that another Chapter in the History of the Conquest of the Panjáb may with profit be published. The material is under my hand in my Journal kept day by day since September, 1842, up to the present day, and it so happened, that in 1887, when the Life of my chief, George Broadfoot, was written by his nephew, I at his request made from my Journals extracts of our proceedings of that momentous period; and, as Broadfoot was part and parcel of all that was done up to the day of his death, December 21, 1845, I have only to add the narratives of the events which took place after his death, up to the date of our crossing the Satlaj on February 11, 1846.

In May, 1844, I left Calcutta in a palanquin, and worked my way on the shoulders of my bearers to Ambála, the chief Station of the Protected Sikh States, which were then the frontier Province of India, the Satlaj being the boundary of the Empire. Although the Maharája of the Panjáb had large fiefs South of the Satlaj, it was a fixed principle, that *as regards them* he was our dependant, and not a Sikh soldier was allowed, under any pretence, to cross the Satlaj.

I was appointed Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, Colonel Richmond, and was employed under Major Leech, a senior Assistant, in discharge of the Revenue, Civil, and Magisterial duties of the Ambála District.

In October, 1844, Sir George Pollock resigned the post of Resident at Lakhnau; Colonel Richmond was transferred to it, and George Broadfoot was transferred from Burma on the South-East Frontier of India to the North-West. He arrived at Ambála, October 30. I lived then in the official residence of Padashahi Bagh, known as George Clerk's house: Colonel Richmond drove Broadfoot over to this house, and I was introduced. Colonel Richmond had been a mere cypher, and

the real power was vested in Joseph D. Cunningham, an Assistant who had good abilities and experience, but had a favourite Native employé who was a rogue, Bakshullah Khan by name. Broadfoot had known Cunningham before, as his brother was Quarter-master of Broadfoot's famous Regiment in the Afghan War. I find in my Journal for November 1, 1844: "Had a talk with Broadfoot about matters, and told him how anxious I was to be attached personally to him: he arranged that I should become his personal assistant."

Broadfoot went off to Simlā to see Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and returned on the third day: on the 20th of November I began my new duties, and Broadfoot commenced the tour of his Province in tents. Cunningham was still with us: we halted at Ludeánah, and then at Ferozpur. Here, on the 13th November, Cunningham left us for his new post at Bahāwalpur, and I was alone with Broadfoot, and scarcely ever left him till his death, December 21, 1845. We travelled leisurely all over the Protected Sikh States. Constant news came from Lahór of murders of Chiefs and mutiny of troops, but no offence was given to us. Thus ended 1844. Broadfoot never seemed quite well: he worked very hard, and was a great rider. I was a guest at his table, but he never talked about public matters: I copied every letter he wrote, and actually wrote in my own hand all the public letters sent to the Governor-General, in order to prevent anything being known in the Office; and, as the Persian news-letters came in from Lahór, one of us translated them as it suited, for we both knew Persian thoroughly; Broadfoot from actual use of it in Afghanistan, and I had just taken a degree of Honour in that language, and preferred it to all others, as I do to this day.

We spent Christmas Day, 1844, his last, at Ludeánah. The state of affairs at Lahór compelled us to get as near as possible to that city, from which our daily News letter arrived. We had a grand Durbar at Sirhind of all the chiefs of the Protected Sikh and Hill States to meet Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. We were all January and February in camp. Good Friday fell on March 21, and on the day following the news reached us at Zirah, on the high road between Ferozpur and Ludeánah, *that a party of Sikhs had crossed the Satlaj at Talwandi*, not far from us. We sent word to them to go quietly back: in the meantime we collected our forces: H. M. 62nd were encamped close to us, and on Easter Day, 1845, as the Sikhs had not crossed back, we started at daylight with 160 infantry and 300 Sabres. The sight was a pretty one (I copy from my Journal): "Broadfoot and I rode in advance: on arriving at Talwandi "we found, that the party had retreated, but had refused to

"pay for the damage which they had done : on this Broadfoot and I dashed on with the Cavalry. Arriving at the banks of the Satlaj, we espied the party at some little distance attempting to cross the deep stream in boats ; on we went, and caught the last boatful, which we knew by the standards to contain the Chief of the party, Bhai Bishen Singh : these we seized with their horses and camels ; one man was shot in the confusion. The scene was very pretty, just at the junction of the Beas and Satlaj."

This was the first shot of the great Sikh War : within the year I was again at this spot, the scene of the battle of Sohraon ; but Broadfoot had been killed many weeks before.

Next morning we met the 62nd Regiment, and the officers all turned out to see our force, for they had known Broadfoot in Tenasserim.

We had to hold the Sessions and try local cases at all the places at which we stopped. Matters were quiet at Lahór, so we moved to Simla and settled there for the first month. The house belonged to Colonel Furness and was against a rock, and so depressing, that Broadfoot took Gubbins House on Mt. Jacquo, which was magnificent : it was called "The Craigs."

We stayed at Simla till November.

Sir Henry Havelock was always with us : Sir Herbert Edwardes and Lake, both my friends, lived just below us. Broadfoot's friends and guests of that time are all dead now except myself : fifty-three years have passed away.

Prince Waldemar of Prussia, and his A.-D.-C., Count Grueben and Count Oriolla, dined with us. In September we heard of the sudden illness and death of Major Leech, Assistant Agent to the Governor-General, and I had to go down to Ambála to take charge of the District, leaving Broadfoot, my present Chief, sick, actually to bury my first Chief. Such is life that I buried the two men under whom I began my career : having taken charge, I had to hurry back to Simla, as Broadfoot needed my service, as I alone copied all his letters and newsletters to be sent to the Governor-General.

In October we went into tents, and travelled into the Hill States, and actually had snow ; it was miserable work, but it did Broadfoot's health good. We went to the top of Mt. Huttou, and the Chor.

On our last evening Sir Henry Havelock dined with us, and kept us up late describing the battle of Maharájpur at the dinner-table by the help of walnut-shells. I remember Broadfoot's comment, that Sir H. Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, did not sufficiently keep his troops in hand at that battle.

November 5th. We left Simla finally to meet Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, at Karnál. Broadfoot was never under a roof again. On the road down from Simlá one of his Arab horses fell over the cliff and was killed : Herbert Edwardes remarked prophetically that a Roman would have gone back if such an omen had befallen him. Sir Robert Sale's sword was stolen from him on the road at a bungalow. Both Broadfoot and Sale were killed.

On reaching Ambála, November 19th, we found fresh rumours of the advance of the Sikh Army to the Satlaj : we all felt, that the end was approaching : we got our carriage and supplies for the troops ready. Broadfoot and I went to Karnál to meet Sir Henry Hardinge : we met him November 26th, and I never left him again until the following April, and formed one of his family : both his sons were my Eton schoolfellows, and he himself was an old family friend.

We reached Ambála, December 3rd. On December 5th there was a grand ball given by the 3rd Light Dragoons ; but those in the secret knew, that the *Sikhs had crossed the Satlaj*. Broadfoot was in high spirits, active, busy, and happy.

December 6th. Broadfoot and I left Ambála, he never to return ; and the camp of the Governor-General was on the Gaggar River. The next day we marched to Rajpúra : we reached Patársi on the 9th, and a letter came from Peter Nicolson, the Assistant at Ferozpúr, that the Sikh Army was in strength south of the Satlaj near Ferozpúr. Broadfoot at once had a long interview with the Governor-General. I had gone to bed, but I had not been long asleep when I was summoned and required to take measures at once for the supplies of the whole force stationed at Ambála, which was to march immediately to the frontier. Measures had already been taken to collect at certain places supplies for several thousand men : renewed exertions were now to be made to victual the whole army. Saunders Abbott, one of Broadfoot's assistants, was sent off to the Hills to bring down the Regiments at Subbátu and Kasáuli ; the Ludeánah force was ordered to fall back and meet us at Busseán. I was up till late giving all the necessary orders. All the ladies in the camp were sent back to Ambála. My dear friend, Captain Napier, and his first wife (long since dead) were with us : he became afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala : I witnessed his parting, and shall never forget it. I was off to Sirhind with the Governor-General : there I received orders to go back to Ambála and accompany the Commander-in-Chief. I dined with the dear old man, and he was in the highest spirits at the prospect of a fight.

December 12th. We were off to Sirhind : supplies plentiful :

met Broadfoot, who had just heard from Nicolson much more serious news. I was ordered to start at nightfall for Busseán, the place of rendezvous of the whole force, by the direct route, with a Regiment of Light Cavalry : it was 45 miles across country, but I had sure native guides. We walked foot's pace the whole night : bitterly cold it was, as I had no overcoat. The villages had all strong walls and deep ditches, and, as we lost our way, we almost determined to blow open the gates of one to know where we were ; we got to Busseán at daybreak, without baggage of any kind. All was right : *the fear was that the enemy might cut off our supplies, which were stored in this place.* By night the Ludeánah force came in : letters were received in the middle of the night from Broadfoot, almost his last, with orders which had to be attended to at once.

December 15th. Broadfoot rode in : General Sir Harry Smith took command of the Division : we knew now that the Sikhs were between us and Ferozpúr, and that *we should have to fight at once.* I was up nearly all night writing letters, and much annoyed at being ordered by Broadfoot to stay behind, and bring up the rear-guard. Broadfoot himself was off early to the front with the Governor-General. I was aroused by the Commander-in-Chief coming to my tent-door and calling for me : I rushed out and answered that we had supplies in abundance, and I begged for a Commissariat Officer to take charge. This was done, and I was free to go to the front. All the Ambála Infantry had arrived now, and the Cavalry was pushed forward : it was a stiff ride to Wadni : the camp was there, but the town held out against us under a Sikh Governor. I dined with the Governor-General, who was quite pleased about the supplies ; he had found me in a Banya's shop dealing out grain, etc., to the Sepoys, who had brought their bags, and called out, " Nothing is below the dignity of an earnest man."

December 17th. We advanced at an early hour : I pushed on and joined Broadfoot, and we rode ahead with Cavalry to occupy the village of Chirah. We took possession of the fort and all the stores of grain. Each Regiment came up, and was supplied with parched grain : we opened the grain-pits, and emptied them. We were all very anxious, as the army had got far in advance of its supplies. Broadfoot rode on to Bhaga Purána to make inquiries : he was the soul of everything : all the army was up now, except the Hill-Regiments, which were two marches behind, under the charge of Saunders Abbott.

December 18th. Off early : overtook the Governor-General having breakfast under a tree : the line was advancing, when a message came back from Broadfoot, that the *enemy had opened fire* : the Commander-in-Chief formed the line : I rode behind

the Governor-General, and we sat down under a tree to await the Infantry. The Governor-General remarked : " Will the people of England consider this an actual invasion of our frontier, and a justification of war ? " I have often thought of this remark : in the hour of our great danger the good old man thought of home-politics and the House of Commons. We all got into Mudki, and finding everything quiet, thought that the alarm was a false one. We had heard a cannonade, as we came along, in the direction of Ferozpur, and the fear was *that the open cantonment might be overpowered*. I looked after supplies. I found the Governor-General sitting under a tree writing letters : on a sudden we heard that the Sikh army was *advancing in force* : it seemed like a joke, but it was true : our whole army turned out, the Sepoys in their dhoties, leaving their food uneaten : it was 4 P.M. I overtook Broadfoot and the Governor-General, and stuck to them : we were under a heavy fire. Regiment after regiment passed by us, and the Governor-General pointed out the direction of the advance. We saw old General McCaskell killed : he had just called out " Cease firing," when he was knocked over. We heard the cheers in the front, when the first battery was taken : we passed through it, saw the dead and dying : we saw Sir Robert Sale lying wounded on a gun, and many friends in the same plight : the firing had now ceased, and we retraced our steps, as the battle was won. I remember asking Henry Havelock, as we rode back to Camp, whether this was really a battle or only a scrimmage, and his reply, " Indeed it was a battle." I supped with the Governor-General, and his two sons and I were the only ones present : no one dared to ask, but we knew that several Aide-de-camps were killed, and several wounded. Somerset and Munro were killed.

December 19th. This morning parties were sent out, and the whole force under arms in line in front of the camp : all was uncertainty : I visited each Regiment and the wounded in the Hospital. Four more regiments came in by double marches in the evening. Saunders Abbott slept in my tent : he came in with them from the Hill Stations, as the Chief Assistant Agent in charge.

December 20th. Still at Mudki : it was settled, that the whole force should advance next morning : all the wounded, all camp-followers, all non-combatants were peremptorily ordered to stay behind : this included Mr. Currie, the Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department, and myself. I was very much annoyed at being left behind, and was making plans to evade the order.

December 21st. Mudki. I copy the words from my Journal, as they are sad to read after fifty-three years : " Broadfoot

"sent for me early this morning just as he was starting, and, peremptorily ordered me to stay behind. I made some answer of a doubtful kind and left the tent : *this was the last time I saw him alive* : God forgive me, that we parted in anger ! after all the kindness that he had shown me, but I felt severely being left behind, which appeared to me to be dishonourable. Mr. Currie came to see me early in the morning, but none of his reasoning could satisfy me. Unhappy and discontented, I found my way to the fort : the place was full of wounded. Sir Robert Sale had just died : I saw his body." Sepoys were groaning and shrieking in their tortments : arms and legs were being cut off on tables in the streets ; there was no chloroform then : the men shrieked under the pain. Reynell Taylor, and Herbert Edwardes, were both wounded ; others of my friends lay dead. I sat up all the night and was with my dear friend, Dashwood, of the Artillery, as he died : he made his will and made me executor. All this time the battle of Ferozshahr was going on, and though five miles off, we seemed to be in the midst of it : the cannonade went on all night : we knew, that we had no chance of escape ; that, unless we gained the battle, not one of us would get to the rear, but all would be massacred.

December 22nd. News came from the Governor-General that our attack of yesterday had failed, that affairs were desperate, that all State-papers were to be destroyed, and that, if the morning attack failed, all would be over : this was kept secret by Mr. Currie, and we were concerting measures to make an unconditional surrender to save the wounded : the part of the news that grieved me most, and even when my own death was probable, was that dear Broadfoot was killed. Old Brigadier Wheeler, who twelve years afterwards was massacred at Cawnpore during the Mutinies of 1857, was in command, and he said bluntly that he did not care where his old body fell : his fate was reserved for 1857. While we were discussing, a letter came from old Colonel Benson with the news of a glorious victory, the capture of many guns : we sent off supplies to the camp. Poor Dashwood died that night as I lay by his side, worn out with fatigue : when I saw that he was dead, I went to Mr. Currie's tent : the whole sight was awful ; I can scarcely bear to read the details of my journal.

December 23rd. Mr. Currie and I received orders from the Governor-General at once to proceed to Ferozpur, to meet him. I buried poor Dashwood in the fort, in a hole under his bed : poor Munro, one of the Aide-de-camps of the Governor-General, was laid upon him : they were buried in their military cloaks. We got on our horses, and rode over the battlefield of Mudki to Ferozpur. We passed heaps of dead bodies : some barbari-

ans had cut off the heads of the English soldiers. We skirted the scene of the battle of Ferozshahr: the village was burning: we overtook hundreds of stragglers of our broken regiments, for, without doubt, we suffered a defeat in the afternoon-attack. In front of Ferozpūr we found the camp of General Sir John Littler. The Cantonments were empty, and the women in the Fieldwork: I went with the Governor-General to visit this, and was struck by the admirable arrangements. I visited Saunders Abbott, who had been severely wounded. Peter Nicolson, Assistant Agent at Ferozpūr, had been killed. The news was confirmed that Broadfoot was dead: "He was shot by the side of the Governor-General, and thrown off his horse; he looked very pale, and, although the Governor-General begged him to retire, with the assistance of his two Afghans he again mounted his horse, and had not proceeded much further, when another bullet pierced him to the heart, and he fell quite dead. Peace be with him! it will be long ere I find so kind a friend, or the Government so zealous, gallant, and talented, an officer."

Our camp equipage in a few days came up, and was pitched: there were Broadfoot's tents as he left them, and his property, and his horses, and his servants: I almost expected to see him ride up, as we had lived a gipsy life, meeting and parting, parting and meeting; *and he did come* for soon a camel stood at the tent door laden with two bodies, rolled up in canvas on each side; Broadfoot, and Captain Hore, an Aide-de-camp of the Governor-General. "I hastened to take steps to bury Broadfoot with military honours, and determined to gaze once more upon the features of one, with whom I had lived so intimately for more than a year. His body was stretched on a table, which supported also the body of Captain Hore: it was indeed a painful sight: there was stretched before me, laid low by a violent death, one whose ambition was boundless, whose talents were of the highest order, who was gifted with energy and fertility of resource which no circumstances could overpower: there lay he, the prime mover, by many considered the cause, of this war now commencing, the most hated by the enemy, whom we were opposing, and the most feared: with his great talents he possessed a singular kindness and sweetness of temper: he had a wonderful command of foreign languages and a universality of knowledge scarcely equalled. His face still preserved its calm composure: tears insensibly found their way down my cheeks as I gazed on this sad spectacle, though the end he had met with was one which he had often courted, and would have preferred to any other."

I had only just left Eton, and I had Virgil always in my thoughts:

"Purpureos spargam flores, animamque Magistri
His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere."

(Æneid, Book VI.)

Edward Lake was sobbing by my side, and cried out : " I shall never find such a friend again." Yet Fortune was good to us both, for we both found in John Lawrence; *then totally unknown to us*, one better even, and greater far, than the friend, whom we had lost.

We had coffins made for the two bodies out of beer-boxes, and any other rough wood available. Lake and I placed Broadfoot in reverently, and nailed the top down. The Governor-General and staff had proceeded to the Burial Ground, and I started with the bodies in a conveyance : it was quite dark, and I entirely lost my way, and felt that there was a kind of ill-omen attending me, as I was wandering about the maidan with the coffin of my poor master, looking in vain for his grave. At length, by good luck, I found my way, as the Governor-General had ordered the band to play loudly : the service was performed by the Chaplain, Mr. Coley, and three rounds fired over the grave. Captain Hore was buried in the same grave.

Thursday, Christmas Day, 1845. We had service in the Governor-General's tent, and very solemn it was. At night we buried Somerest and Sale in the same grave : there were no English private soldiers to carry the coffins in either case from the gun-carriage to the grave, so we had to do it ourselves ; we staggered along, and some of us nearly fell into the grave. Among the many duties thrust upon us at this moment was that of the " Undertaker, and a curious incident happened. The officer commanding the funeral-escort had got everything ready in his department, and, remarking a long box, which might pass muster for a coffin, at the door of Somerset's tent, with a military cloak over it, he ordered it to be hoisted on to the gun-carriage, and we all fell in behind and proceeded down the great street of tents, when suddenly there was a cry from the rear, and the procession halted : an officer rushed up and cried out that the body of Somerest was still lying on the bed in his tent, the rather important detail of placing the body in the coffin having been overlooked. Four of us seized the coffin and hurried back ; reverently placed the body into its receptacle and replaced it on the gun-carriage : it would have amounted to a disaster had the Governor-General returned to his tent on the completion of the ceremony, and found the body of his Military Secretary still in his tent. (N. B. Major Arthur Somerset was the eldest son of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who ten years later commanded the British Army in the Crimea, and was created Lord Raglan.) With him, in the same grave,

we lowered the coffin of dear good old Sir Robert Sale : we had brought his body in from Mudki, where he died, I wrote an account to Lady Sale of his last moments and his burial, and I received a characteristic note from the old lady, which has survived to this day among my letters : " Thank you for your kindness to my dear old Bob."

On December 26th I rode over to the Commander-in-Chief's Camp at Sultan Khanwála : breakfasted with His Excellency, and had an interview with Colonel Parsons, the Head of the Commissariat. Visited Herbert Edwardes, who was getting on well in spite of his wounds, and who was to be moved to our Camp. Rode back in company of the Commander-in-Chief, who visited the Governor-General. A cousin of my own visited me this day, who had arrived in India just in time to serve with the 54th Regiment of Native Infantry at the battle of Ferozpur, and was in high spirits at having got a medal in the first year of his service : he died, poor boy, at the age of 21, in the house of Sir Henry Lawrence at Lahór, the following year. With my cousin in my tent door, stood a remarkable young man, beautiful in his youth, charming in his manner, Hodgson, destined to be remembered as Hodgson of Hodgson's Horse : he had a letter of introduction to me, and he had been trained by Arnold of Rugby : I was delighted with him, and saw a great deal of him. He died during the siege of Lakhnáu in 1858 : his history is well known to all.

On December 27th I was engaged in collecting and arranging Broadfoot's official papers. I rode in the evening to see the captured guns, which had been drawn into the fieldwork : their number was seventy-four, but the guns captured at Mudki amounted to seventeen : these were still at the bottom of the wells into which, in our hour of peril, we had thrown them.

Another incident has here to be recorded. During the hot months at Simla, Prince Waldemar of Prussia accompanied by two Aide-de-camps, Count Oriolla and Count Grueben, and a German Doctor, Hoffmeister, had been the guests of the Governor-General, and had been very popular with the English residents. In an evil hour they were tempted to accompany the Army to the frontier, and passed unscathed through the battle of Mudki ; but in the terrible night of the 21st at Ferozshahr the German Doctor was killed, and the three survivors fled to Ferozpur, and worked their way down the East bank of the Satlaj to Bahawalpur : it took them a very long time, and on their arrival there they heard from the British official of the great victory, which they might have shared. They were soldiers, and did not continue their flight to Karáchi, but

returned to Ferozpúr, and were received by the Governor-General with the same cordiality: no questions were asked, and two of the captured Sikh guns were made over to Prince Waldemar to be presented to his cousin King William of Prussia.

On the 28th I rode early in the direction of Baháwalpúr to help one of the Staff Officers to select a suitable spot for a Division of Cavalry; it being proposed to divide the force into Divisions until every arrangement had been made for the advance to Lahór, which could not take place for some weeks, when the additional troops from Dehli and Mirat had arrived. The idea was then conceived for the first time of annexing the whole of the Panjáb as far as the Khaibar Pass; the notion seemed very wild then, though it has been a fact for half a century now.

The year 1845 closed upon us: after so much excitement everything had become stagnant; our policy was to wait. I used to visit daily one large tent, in the four corners of which, on a bed, were stretched four of my friends, all wounded Col. George Gough, Nephew of the Commander-in-Chief; Reynell Taylor, destined for employment on the frontier; Saunders Abbott, who lived nearly half a century later; Herbert Edwardes, well known to fame.

All are dead now: Field-Marshal Sir Fred. Paul Haines reminded me a few weeks ago, after reading my other Chapter of the History of the Conquest of the Panjáb, that he was wounded in another tent, and that I used to come and visit him also. Except our two selves, I cannot recollect the name of anyone who was present on the frontier at the close of 1845. In these comparatively quiet days at Ferozpúr, I was tempted to add to the Poem of the Day of Death, by Archbishop Trench, the following lines in English and Latin:

Shall I on the battlefield,
'Twixt raging brand and clanging shield,
Midst cries and groans, my spirit yield?
Or, after that dread fight is o'er,
Unfriended, thirsting, stained with gore,
Rejoice to sleep, and wake no more?

And to my own Latin translation:

Inter homines pugnantes,
Scuto gladios sonantes,
Sensus cedam anhelantes?
Aut post pugnam tristio rem,
Solus, nudus, per cruorem,
Gaudens incam soporem?

It is an awful thing for me, as an old man approaching eighty, to think of the bright young spirits, full of life and promise, cut off before my eyes more than half a century ago. It is from the Lord: let Him do what He deems best; but, humanly speaking, those deaths deprived the State of brilliant services, and sent a feeling of desolation into distant homes. The cry was heard: "When so many were unhurt, why was my loved one called away?" In my old age I reply: "When so many fell, why was I spared?"

1846.

January 1st. The New Year commenced with a bright sunshiny day, a bright omen for the future. I despatched my Overland letters describing the battles. I was much gratified at being informed by Mr. Currie, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, that my name had been mentioned in the Dispatch of the Governor-General to the Secret Committee of the East India Company, and possibly, though a Civilian, I may be allowed a medal, as I have been on active service, and smelt blood. Some of my contemporaries *led* the troops: I *fed* them.

January 2nd. Rode down to see the Ferry-Boats at the Ghaut. While the Sikh Army was this side of the Satlaj River, these boats had been sunk to the bottom of the stream, and all the materials of the bridge had been carried to the Field-work. The boats had now been raised to the surface, and fastened to the Eastern or British bank.

January 4th. A horse belonging to my friend Dashwood, to whose will I was executor, had been wounded under him at Mudki, and was pronounced incurable: orders were given to kill it, and it was struck in the chest by a Cavalry-sword, which went deep into its body: the noble beast reeled under the blow, and after considerable effusion of blood dropped down dead.

January 7th. The Mirat-force, with twelve 12-pounders, is now near at hand: the heavy train, six miles in length, has started from Dehli; but it will take time ere it arrive. Under orders I am purchasing, for eight annas each, all the English cannonballs brought in by the villagers from Ferozshahr: it is calculated that each shot from the Arsenal costs one Rupee before delivery at Ferozpur. The hammered shot of the Sikhs are useless to us.

January 10th. Major Mackeson, one of the Assistant Agents, arrived to-day from his station: he is to take charge of the Protected Sikh States distinct from those reserved for Major Henry Lawrence, who succeeds Broadfoot. I received my orders to accompany the Army to Lahor, and was for the time transferred to the post of Under-Secretary in the Foreign

Department : this was a satisfactory step of promotion : I shall always look back with a degree of affection to the countries betwixt the Satlaj and the Jamna, in which, a year and a half ago, I commenced my career. I was to have 1,000 Rupees per mensem, or £1,200 per annum, not bad pay for the age of 24 ; but I had risked my life to get it, and had to risk it further to hold it : perhaps it would have been wiser to stay down in Lower Bengal far away from the din of arms.

January 11th. Sunday service in the tent of the Governor-General. From this day a small party of us formed a separate Mess, there being great inconveniences in being always a guest at the table of the Governor-General, the greatest of which was that I had no means to entertain guests, or strangers, who suddenly dropped in upon me, the "*vespertinus hospes*" of dear old Horatius Flaccus. Major Mackeson started to-day with a considerable force to occupy the fort of Mokitsar, the only one still holding out against us East of the Satlaj. Captain Robinson had failed in his attack with the Sirsa force, so we sent out an overwhelming force with supplies of shrapnel and bags of powder.

January 12th. I accompanied J. D. Cunningham on an expedition on riding camels to the Camp of the Commander-in-Chief, about twenty miles distant. We passed Attári, where the Division of Sir John Grey was encamped, to Mullowall, a strong fort, and the evening closed around us ere we reached the Camp of the Commander-in-Chief, pitched to the rear of the grand line of the encamped Army. I got a corner in the tent of the Hon. Capt. West, on His Excellency's Staff (He afterwards became Earl of Delawar, and died many years ago). I dined with the Commander-in-Chief. Up at daylight on the 16th, and galloped to the rear of General Gilbert's Division, a Brigade of which was then in motion to occupy Talwandi, on which Sir Harry Smith's Division rested. On Easter Day last year Broadfoot had pursued through the village the Sikhs, who crossed the River under Bishen Singh at Hari ki Patan. We galloped on to Cureton's Brigade of Cavalry, the extreme right of the force in sight of the fort of Mokko, which commands the point of junction of the Rivers Satlaj and Beas. I returned home in front of the Army, and fell back to breakfast at the Commander-in-Chief's tent. Mounted a fresh horse, and visited Sir John Grey's Division and the Artillery with the park of heavy guns. From this point I rode forward to the advanced Brigade in position at the entrenched village of Rodawals : here I found the 12-pounders in position with an entrenchment, and a look-out tower, whence the movements of the enemy could be distinctly watched. I was struck with admi-

ration at the beauty of the scene. The Western bank of the Satlaj from Hari ki Patan downwards is much loftier than the Eastern : on this high bank, commanding the ford and ferry of Sobraon, which lay before us, were the hosts of the enemy, who had formed a bridge connecting the two banks, and a *filé du pont* on the Eastern side. Through a telescope from the watch-tower all this was visible, and we could see the Sikh soldiers swarming about like ants on an ant-hill : we kept up a brisk interchange of shots with some of their sharp-shooters : the embrasures of their guns were distinctly visible in their entrenchment. We galloped on to another advanced outpost, behind which was another brigade with guns : it had only been occupied this very day, and the Engineers were still at work : the same order of things prevailed here, and a detachment of light infantry was there to protect the Sappers at their work. Signs were visible of a battery of heavy guns of the enemy in preparation to bear upon the watch-tower. I visited the park of heavy guns, and then dined with the Commander-in-Chief.

January 17th. A large force under the command of Sir Harry Smith left the Camp this morning to take the forts of Fatighar and Dharamkót, and to open the country betwixt that place and Jigraón and Ludeánah. I had some thoughts of accompanying it, but eventually determined to return to camp, for the lull of public business might suddenly be interrupted. I rode out once more to the outposts : I visited the park of artillery to see the batteries of 12-pounders, drawn by two elephants, tandem fashion, which had just arrived from Dehli, a sight which I shall never forget. I saw also the unfortunate 24-pounder the cascabel of which had been blown off, rendering it useless, two days previously, when the Commander-in-Chief was playing at long balls with the Sikhs : I then mounted my camel, and reached Ferozpur about dark. I had a message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General ; so I found my way to his tent, and, being admitted, found him in bed. His habit was to take all his clothes off, get into his nightgown every day about 6 p.m., take a cool bed-bath for half an hour, and then dress for dinner. He was then 61 years of age, and hale, and lived ten years longer. He put his *one* arm out of the sheets (he had lost the other at Quatre Bras), and took the letter out of my hand, and listened to my description of what I had seen in the last two days with deep interest. I retired, made myself comfortable, and went back to dinner.

January 18th. Service in the tent of the Governor-General. The Indian newspapers, which now began to find their way up to our Camp, published a report, that I and Charles Har-

dinge, son of the Governor-General, had been killed in one of the battles. An old College-friend from Calcutta had written to an acquaintance in camp (no other than this very Charles Hardinge), to ask him to seal up my books and papers, and forward them to him to be transmitted to my family; the rumour had reached my father in England, and good Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, had written to him a letter of condolence: but a letter came from the India Office, reporting that I was alive and well. By a singular chance, two years later, a rumour reached me that my College-friend had been killed by the explosion of his gun. I at once wrote to Charles Hardinge, then in Calcutta, to find out the truth, and he replied that the rumour was false.

January 20th. The Governor-General had heard from me and others of events in the Commander-in-Chief's Camp, and he determined to make a personal inspection, and I accompanied him. We rode out to the advanced posts: matters had intensified in the last few days: the circumstances of the tower, which on my former visit I had entered with comparative security, and had seated myself with my telescope on the parapet, were now entirely changed. On riding up, I was saluted with a couple of bullets from a camel swivel, which passed over my head, and warned me to retreat, unless I was ambitious of the end which overtook Charles XII of Sweden:

"A petty fortress and an unknown hand."

The place was still occupied by a party of Infantry, but the Brigade had fallen back into entrenchments. I rode thence to the other watch-tower, at which the same kind of sniping was going on.

January 21st. Major Henry Lawrence arrived to-day, having left the Residency of Nepal, to take charge of the duties of the frontier Agency, vacated by George Broadfoot. I was introduced to him by Mr. Currie, and took him into the empty tent of his predecessor, where he installed himself; and I brought him the office-boxes, and pointed out the correspondence which had to be attended to. He had not much personal luggage with him, as he had ridden on a camel from Karnál: he wore leather-breeches which did not fit him, and he explained that he had staid with his brother, John Lawrence, Magistrate and Collector of Dehli, on his road up, who had insisted on his borrowing his leather garments for the long ride. He stood thus before me in his brother's breeches; but he was not destined to occupy them long, for in a few weeks that same John Lawrence, Magistrate of Dehli, became Commissioner of the Julundhar Doab, and in a few years member of the Lahór Council of Three; in another year he had sup-

planted his brother Henry, and become Chief Commissioner, and, as years rolled on, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb, and Viceroy of India, to return home as a Peer of Parliament; while the elder brother, before whom I now stood as his personal assistant, perished by a violent death at the siege of Lakhnau, about eleven years later.

I rode down the lines, and visited the extreme left, the head-quarters of the Irregular Cavalry regiments, 8th and 9th: had a chat with my good friend Christie, of Christie's Horse. Dined with the Commander-in-Chief: after dinner there was speechifying.

I accompanied Major Lawrence to visit the field of Ferozshahr: passing Mullohall, we entered high jungle, and on our road met the large convoys of supplies despatched from Dehli for the Army: we galloped across country, and soon came upon marks of the wheels of Artillery, and at length sighted the village of Ferozshahr, surrounded by a radius of cultivated land. The village itself was the centre of the entrenchment, which had evidently been constructed by unskilled hands, and in extreme haste. We rode around, passing over the bodies of dead men and horses. Our course lay to the right hand till we got behind the village, where the greatest carnage had been: there lay in masses the bodies of men of the 9th and 62nd regiments, who had fallen in the charges on the enemy's guns: they had been insufficiently buried, and their arms and legs protruded, leading us first to suppose, that death had been caused by the explosion of a mine. I cut a button off the sleeve of a man in each heap, and by the number knew which regiment had attacked this particular spot. Moving onwards, we passed the space which intervened between the column of Sir John Littler moving from Ferozpúr, and that under the command of the Commander-in-Chief moving from Mudki. Here fresh graves marked the place where the men of each regiment had fallen, and the numerous bodies of Sikhs, lying with one little hole pierced through their middle, reminded us how fearfully in this place the British bayonet had done its duty. Here also was a slight clearing in addition to the entrenchments; and the still unburied, prostrate bodies of the 3rd Dragoons, men and horse, marked the spot where their gallant charge had taken place: the enclosure was filled with the bodies of Sikhs, men of gigantic mould, with long beards; the whole sight was painful, but deeply interesting. It was a dearly won field by the loss of so many gallant soldiers, and yet at the same time a lesson to the people of India of the superiority of the Englishman and his weapons.

January 24th. I made my will to-day, disposing of all that I possessed, and made it over to my friend Agnew, the

Assistant, whom we were going to leave behind in charge of Ferozpúr, when we crossed the Satlaj to take Lahór. I thought him safe, while I was in danger: he was killed at Multan in 1848, and my will came back to me many years afterwards, when his chattels had been collected and his affairs settled. I remember writing a poem on his untimely end.

January 25th, Sunday. Service in the Governor-General's tent. Great anxiety was now felt as to the position and circumstances of Sir Harry Smith, who had started towards Ludeánah with a strong force. No tidings had been received from him; but sufficient time had elapsed to enable him to dispose of his Sikh antagonists, who were threatening Ludeánah. On the 28th the Governor-General went over for a couple of days to the Camp of the Commander-in-Chief. I remained at Ferozpúr. All manner of rumours were current as to a disaster attending Sir Harry Smith's force, and it was officially reported that all their baggage and medical stores had fallen into the hands of the enemy: we were all full of evil forebodings, and hanging on the mouth of every new arrival, when on the 28th, before breakfast, I was startled by a salute of cannon: the news of the preceding day had prepared us to hear of our camp being attacked, and, half in earnest, I stepped out of my tent to see where the round shot were falling; but it proved, on inquiry, to be a Royal Salute in honour of a great victory won by Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal, not far from Ludeánah. He had at last succeeded in getting up to the enemy, and had stormed their entrenchments. Some of the Sikh regiments actually came out to meet them: the action was sharp, but decided: in the end we drove them from their post, capturing upwards of fifty guns, which were scattered all over the field: our loss was not severe. One officer of Irregular Cavalry did a very gallant act: he crossed over the Satlaj with his horse-men, and spiked some guns on the opposite bank.

February 1st, Sunday. Service in the Governor-General's tent. I rode down to the Ghaut to see the progress of the bridge of boats and pontoon train. Many of the boats have been fastened together, and show what kind of bridge is to be formed.

February 4th. The Governor-General went out to Camp: as there seemed to be a possibility and probability of some active measures being taken, I accompanied him. Next day I rode about the Camp: the great line had been considerably altered, and the advanced posts given up; the village of Rodawala had been entrenched, and was held by a Brigade. There seemed to be little or no chance of anything being done; so the Governor-General returned to Ferozpúr next day, and I followed. No attack was to be made by our troops until the arrival of the heavy guns on their road from Delhi.

February 8th, Sunday. Service in the Governor-General's Camp. News from England of the resignation of Sir Robert Peel and the futile attempt of Lord John Russell to form an Administration, and the return of Sir Robert Peel to power. These events were happening in England at the end of December, 1845, while we in India were hurrying up to relieve Ferozpur.

February 9th. The Governor-General, with all his official party, started to-day to Camp, as the heavy guns had arrived, and it was determined to attack the enemy in their entrenched position on the following morning, February 10th. The attack was to commence by a severe cannonade from our iron howitzers and mortars: the trenches were then to be stormed, and the guns of the enemy taken. The only question was, how we were to hold this position when once taken, as it was supposed to be commanded by the enemy's heavy guns upon the elevated bank on the opposite side of the Satlaj. I dined with the Governor-General, and heard the whole question discussed at length. I went up afterwards to my friend West's tent (Earl of Delawar, see p. 328), and got a plan of the attack, and a general idea of the operations of the following morning. The main part of the scheme was, that same evening, to throw our bridge of boats across the Satlaj at Ferozpur, and make good our passage of the river before the enemy recovered from the shock of their defeat at Sobraon to-morrow, Tuesday, February 10th.

I was up by 4 A. M., and moved down towards Rodawala; fell in with my friend Prince Waldemar of Prussia, and his suite, and accompanied General Gilbert's column. Leaving them, we darted across country to Rodawala, where we arrived before daylight: it was then occupied by the 73rd Native Infantry; the rest of the brigade, under Colonel Ashburnham, had advanced to beat out the picquets of the enemy at the tower, and prepare the batteries: picquets, they found none, and the batteries were ready before dawn. Those on the right opened first, and at the first report we heard the 'tomtoms' giving the alarm in the Sikh Camp: there was then a pause, and both batteries commenced in earnest a brisk cannonade, which was returned with equal spirit. The Governor-General had assumed the office of Second in Command under the Commander-in-Chief. They both remained at Rodawala for upwards of an hour, when it became apparent from the enemy's batteries being less regular, that an effect had been made. The Governor-General then mounted his horse, and I accompanied him. We rode forward under the cannon-shot to a spot where one battery of our mortars was placed, which were now silent, as their ammunition had been exhausted. The

Commander-in-Chief, on our left, then gave orders for the attack in that quarter by the division of General Dick. The Governor-General then prepared to advance, upon which I left him, and proceeded towards the left. I here fell in with the 9th Lancers, and further on with the 3rd Dragoons, and the Cavalry on their flank was pushed forward to support them. The wounded were being brought to the rear. One officer begged my assistance to find a doctor : he had just been struck on the head by a cannon ball, but was only severely bruised. I then returned to Rodawala, and could distinguish the columns advancing into the trenches in three divisions. The cannonade on one side had ceased. I mounted my horse again, and rode to the mortars and howitzers, and, passing them, rode forward to the entrenchments, where repeated volleys of musketry told me how busily matters were going on there. I rode towards our right, passing over the lines of General Gilbert's Division, too plainly marked by the bodies of wounded and dead, and fell in with the 9th Lancers ; a man fell in their ranks while I was there. I could see the smoke of guns from the entrenchments, and the British line steadily advancing : an old School friend of mine at Eton, named Beale, was in one of the Regiments (I think the 10th Infantry): he was very tall indeed, and his head appeared above the line of the troops, and that poor head was knocked off by a cannon ball. I met an officer, whom I knew well, named Becher, hurrying back to the rear, with a terrible wound in his mouth : dooleys were finding their way back to the rear.

I stood awhile watching the progress of the fight, then at its height, volley after volley ; the smoke enveloped everything : it was a magnificent sight, and the surroundings of the scenery were so striking. As the roar became fainter, and the cannonade almost entirely ceased, I advanced with the Cavalry to the trenches : the firing had ceased entirely, and I found General Gilbert's Division halting in the trenches, and learned that the day had been triumphantly won. I had some difficulty in getting my horse up to the trenches, as they were steep and admirably defensible ; but I mounted them, and passed through the dying and the dead, and pushed onwards to the spot where our Artillery still kept up a cannonade. Here I met the Governor-General, and congratulated him : he was hastening out of the trenches, as mines were exploding all around us. He advised me to hasten towards the river, which I did, and what a sight met my eye ? The stream was blocked with the dead and dying ; the sandbanks were covered, and bodies were floating leisurely down : they would have to open our bridge of boats at Feroz-pur to let the ghastly mass pass down. Our regiments were

drawn up in different directions, and our Artillery just outside the trenches, which were too high for the guns to enter, was pounding into the fugitives, who had got across the bridge to the opposite bank : it was an awful sight, a fearful carnage ; the dead Sikh lay inside his trenches ; the dead Englishman marked too distinctly the line which each regiment had taken in the advance, and, proud and triumphant sight ! the living Englishmen in possession indicated that nought could resist the invincible bayonet. I fell in with the Commander-in-Chief, and, as the place was becoming dangerous from the explosions of mines, we passed out of the trenches, and rode along the dry *nalah* that surrounded it, and took notice of the strong defences which the enemy had thrown up, and which we had captured. I looked into some of the canvas coverings of the Sikh soldiers, and noted how they had bivouacked.

Sixty-six guns and two hundred camel swivels were reported as captured. Our loss was heavy, and the ground was strewn with slain, among whom I recognized a fine and handsome lad whom I had well known : there he lay, his auburn hair weltering in his blood ; his forehead fearfully gashed ; his fingers cut off : still warm, but quite dead. He had been cut down in the advance, when a momentary check to our column encouraged some desperate Sikhs to rush out, sword in hand, before their trenches, and attack us.

On my road home I joined the Governor-General, who had escaped all injury, though he had advanced to the trench with Gilbert's Division, and had been much exposed to the musketry. It was remarkable that none of the Sikh guns on the opposite side of the *Satraj* opened upon us when we were in possession of the entrenchment. We could not have got at them, as they had destroyed the bridge, and they could rake our position. The spirit of the enemy seemed to be entirely broken. The plunderers on our side were now busy on their vocation, and all the camp-followers of our force seem to have poured themselves into the entrenchment to get what they could lay hold of.

I accompanied the Governor-General to his tent, and a few of us sat down with him to get a little 'tiffin,' which we well deserved, having fasted since daybreak. The Governor was very silent : too great an achievement had been accomplished that morning to give room for talking. We had just done tiffin, when in walked the Commander-in-Chief alone, and sat down on a chair by the side of the Governor-General. The two old Peninsular heroes looked at each other, and the Governor-General patted the Commander-in-Chief on his knees, and said, "Well done ! Sir Hugh" : there was a simplicity and nobility in their greeting, which I shall never forget.

The Governor-General returned to Ferozpur to superintend personally the completion of the bridge across the Satlaj, and the Reserve Force at Attári was ordered to cross that very night to the opposite bank, which action meant the "Invasion of the Panjáb." In the evening I rode down at leisure to visit the trenches. Commencing on the enemy's right, I noted where each English division stormed the entrenchment, and marked where the guns of the enemy were in position : to their right I found upwards of two hundred camel swivels. Their guns were in embrasures ; the trenches were triple and quadruple in number ; pits had been dug in front to cover musketry ; holes to hinder charges of cavalry : every device had been put into practice to make the position defensible. Mines were now loudly exploding, or rather the gun-powder buried by the side of each gun became ignited by the fire spreading over the enclosed Camp : little plunder was to be found : the Sikhs had nothing with them but their arms. The guns were now nearly all removed to our Camp : our dead were being collected and buried : a sad sight was the rows of English corpses prepared for sepulture as fast as graves could be dug. I followed the entrenchment until I again reached the stream, and as the interior was now unsafe, I returned to my tent : the explosions were terrific, and the white clouds of smoke curling up were visible from Ferozpur. Thus ended the day of the third battle at which I had been present.

Ferozpur, February 11th, 1846.

It is a solemn occupation, after the lapse of fifty-two years, to read and copy the above pages from my Journal of December, 1845, and January and February, 1846. The greatest wonder and cause for thankfulness is, that I am alive to do so. The figures of those great heroes, and kind old men, Hardinge, Governor-General, and Gough, Commander-in-Chief, come back to me, and I am lost in amazement at the condescending kindness, with which I was uniformly received by both. The death of my master, George Broadfoot, at Ferozshahr, and the death, or disablement by wounds, of nearly all his Assistants, had left practically the whole executive business of the Frontier Agency, consisting of the Districts of Ferozpur, Ludeánah, Ambála, Khytul, and of four great independent Chieftains, Pateála, Ladwa, Nabha, and Jhind, in my hands. At the age of 24 I was fortunate to be so circumstanced : I knew the language of the people ; I knew the representatives of the Native independent Chiefs and all the Native officials, and knew what Broadfoot's views and practice were, and until the arrival of his successor, Major Henry Lawrence, was able to carry on business. I was in excellent health ; had all my own and Broadfoot's horses at my disposal ; but I shall never forget

the considerate courtesy of the two kind old men, for I was in and out of their tents at all hours, and a welcome guest at the table of both. Perhaps I was of a little use to them : I hope that I was so : at any rate, I was intensely happy.

Another thought suggests itself. I wonder how, during such a two months as elapsed between December 11th, 1845, and February 11th, 1846, we were able to eat, drink, and sleep, with the memory of our dead friends always coming back to us. If a difficulty arose in some letter, the thought arose that I would run across to Broadfoot's tent, and ask him to clear it up. There was his tent, standing empty. Think only of the dining-table of the Governor-General, with six members of his official staff gone. Youth, fearlessness, not recklessness, sense of duty, high spirits, and, above all, the impossibility of escaping from our environment, sustained us.

More sad it is, after the lapse of half a century, to think of what has become of so many of the survivors. Henry Lawrence, killed in the Lakhnau Residency ; Hodgson, of Hodgson's Horse, shot down in the streets of Lakhnau ; the great Christian soldier, Havelock, dying just outside the walls of that city ; John Nicolson, killed at Dehli ; poor old Wheeler thrown, with his kind old Eurasian wife, into the well of Cawnpur ; Mackeson, cut down by an assassin ; Agnew, killed within two years at Multán ; Brigadier Cureton, killed at Ramnuggur ; Henry Durand, crushed to death on his elephant under an archway, and many others, whom I met at every turn in those weeks at Ferozpúr, or at Lahór. Some disappeared as time went on ; some lived to a good old age. Arthur Hardinge was quite a boy in this campaign ; I met him last when he was Governor of Gibraltar. In a few years all will be gone. .

London, October 15th, 1898.

ART. VIII.—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

THE following brief account of some of the chief doctrines of Jainism is given in the hope that it may prove of help to European scholars in arriving at an understanding of that religion.

The distinctive feature of Jainism is that, in its treatment of Being, or Reality (*Bastu*), it adopts the *anaiikanta*, or relational, method, while most other religious systems adopt the *aikanta*, or non-relational method. According to the former method, things are described strictly with reference to their several parts, aspects, and relations. That is to say, any assertion that is made regarding a thing is made with reference only to that part, aspect, or relation of it to which it is applicable. The *aikanta* method, on the other hand, is that according to which an assertion that holds good only of a particular part, aspect, or relation of a thing, is extended to it absolutely. The following illustration of this distinction from the religious doctrines of Jainism may serve to make my meaning clear.

Some religionists hold that *jiva* (soul) and Brahma (God) are one, whilst others assert that they are distinct ; but a Jaini will say that *jiva* and Brahma are one as well as distinct. They are one, that is, with reference to *shakti* (power), but they are distinct with reference to *baiyakti* (manifestation of that power). The *svabhava* (nature, or distinguishing attribute) of *jiva*, is to know all things of the past, however remote it may be, of the present, and of the future, without any limitation, and of all places. All *jivas* (souls) have the potentiality of this distinguishing attribute ; but, as they are in the *sansari* (worldly) condition, this attribute is, by the bondage of the *Karmas*, rendered limited and imperfect. Every *jiva*, when emancipated from the worldly condition, is one with Brahma ; and, as every *jiva* has the potentiality of perfect knowledge, with reference to this potentiality it is one with Brahma, even in the worldly condition. But, as in the *sansari* (worldly) *jiva* this power is not *baiyakta* (manifested), it cannot be absolutely regarded as one with Brahma. To hold that it is absolutely one with Brahma is certainly to stretch a doctrine to an extreme which will make it absurd and conducive to irreligion and impiety ; because, if soul, even in the worldly condition, were one with Brahma, there would be no reason why we should desire, and strive after, *Mukti* (salvation) ? If we, while infected with *rag dwaish*, and *moh*, were one with Brahma, it would be useless to practise virtue, devotional exercises, and *Dhiyan* (meditation). Thus, to hold absolutely that *Atma* is *Paramatma*, is not true ; but it is true in a certain respect.

According to Jainism, *Bastu*, or *Draba*, has infinite *gunas* (attributes), and consists in *jiva*, or *Atma*, soul, and *ajiva*, (non-soul) the latter of which is of five kinds, namely, *Aakash*, (space), *Pudgal* (matter), *Kal* (time), *Dharm* and *Adharm*. These two kinds of *Drabas* (beings), that is, *jiva* and *ajiva*, exist from eternity, and compose the world. They constantly change their conditions, but are never annihilated ; nor does any one of them ever become the other. They are separate and independent entities.

There are some religionists who believe in the existence of soul only ; whilst there are others who discard the existence of soul, and hold that *jiva* is an outcome of a particular combination of material atoms. Then it amounts to this, that, according to the former, *ajiva* (non-soul) comes out of *jiva* (soul) ; while, according to the latter, soul comes out of non-soul. But Jainism holds both these theories to be erroneous, and inculcates that both *jiva* and *ajiva* exist from eternity as independent entities. Neither *jiva* becomes *ajiva* ; nor *ajiva*, *jiva*.

One of the chief doctrines of Jainism is that nothing can exist without its *svabhava* (differentia), constituting and indicating its very existence, and that the *svabhava* (differentia) of a *Draba* (thing) cannot become nil, because that would reduce the thing itself to nothing, which is antagonistic to another doctrine, that something cannot become nothing. Hence *jiva* cannot lose its distinguishing attribute, which is the power of knowing (*Gyan*).

It might be said that what we call matter is nothing but a modified form of soul, and that, though to us it does not appear to be so, yet in reality it has the power of knowing. But Jainism does not hold that to be true which is contradictory to Partaksh Parman (the evidence of the senses in their healthy and normal condition). Of course, according to Jainism also, *jiva* is everywhere ; even the smallest space is not without soul ; but that does not mean that everything is soul. No doubt, there are, in the table before me, many souls (*jivas*) with separate fine bodies which we cannot see, but this does not mean that the table itself is *jiva*. Besides this, if there is no real existence except *jiva*, then whence has *jiva* got such qualities as anger, pride, deceit, avarice, sensuality etc ? If everything is Brahma, and there is no existence but one Brahma who is good, pure, changeless, all knowing, all seeing, all-powerful, then whence have ignorance, and various sorts of vice, come into the world ? There can be only two causes to account for this. Either we must attribute vice and all bad qualities to Brahma, or we must admit the existence of matter as a separate and independent entity. Jainism adopts the

second view, and holds that *jiva* (soul) and *pudgal* (matter) are mixed together from eternity. The distinguishing attribute of *jiva* is to know all of past, present and future, but as from eternity *jiva* is intermingled with *pudgal* (matter), this attribute is not manifested in it.

It may here be asked how matter affects soul. That it affects it, is confirmed, at any rate, by daily experience. Give a little quantity of wine to a man, and see how it makes him lose his senses. It may be urged that wine does not affect soul, but only intellect. Now, what is the function of intellect? It is to know and understand things. Is this attribute of knowing and understanding contributed to intellect by soul or by matter? Now, when, by wine, the quality of knowing and understanding is affected, virtually soul is affected.

Jainism teaches that soul, on account of the bondage of *Karmas*, is subject to birth and death, pleasures, and pains. *Karmas* are of two kinds—*Draba Karmas* and *Bhava Karmas*. *Draba Karmas* are the assemblages of the atoms of matter, whilst *Bhava Karmas* are the various feelings and passions which soul undergoes. *Draba Karmas*, or those atoms of matter which are in bondage with, and affect, *samsari jiva* (worldly soul), are of eight kinds. The first, which are called *Gyana Wesnia*, are of such a nature that, when combined with soul, they impair its knowledge (*Gyan*). The second, which are called *Derskna Wesnia*, impair soul's power of *Dershan* (seeing). The third, which are called *Mohnia*, are of two descriptions.—*Derskna Mohnia* and *Charter Mohnia*. *Derskna Mohnia* prevent soul from believing in the true doctrines regarding soul and non-soul. They are like wine, which makes men see things in other than their true light. *Charter Mohnia* prevent soul from acting rightly. They produce various sorts of passions in soul and conduce to the commission of sin. The fourth, which are called *Antrai Karma*, put obstacles in the way of soul's gaining its desired objects. The fifth, which are called *Baidnia Karma*, are of two kinds, *Sata Baidnia* and *Asata Baidnia*. *Sata Baidnia* provide for soul various sorts of material comforts, and pleasures, whilst *Asata Baidnia* subject it to pains and hardships. The sixth, which are called *Nani Karam*, envelope soul in various kinds of bodies, of different genera, such as those of man, animals etc., and of different shape. The seventh, which are called *Goter Karma*, are the cause of soul's birth being in a high or low family. The eighth, which are called *Aath Karma*, sustain soul in a body for a certain period. Thus there are eight kinds of *Draba Karmas* which are the causes of all the different sorts of worldly conditions of soul.

Bhava Karmas, again, are *Rag Dwaish* (loving and hating

Per Drabas) and *Moh* (ignorance) which *Sansari jiva* (worldly souls) manifest, in various sorts of passions and affections. There is *nimit namit sambandh* (correlative relation) between *Draba* and *Bhava Karamas*. Both these classes of *Karamas* are with the *sansari jiva* from eternity. The first is with the *jiva* owing to the second, and the second is owing to the first. It is not that *Karamas* have become attached to *jiva* and rendered it impure at some particular time ; but Jainism holds that *Atma (jiva)* is—in the *sansari* condition, that is,—rendered impure by the bondage of *Karamas* from eternity. Some say that before creation soul was in a pure condition, but that at some particular time it was made impure and put into the world by *Iswara* (God). Such a doctrine is not consistent with the glory of God, because, if God Himself had rendered *Atma*, which was previously in a pure condition, impure, then what necessity was there for sending down the Vedas and other religious books ? By various revelations it appears clear that God desires soul to become pure and obtain salvation ; but, if such is God's wish, why should God Himself have rendered impure, souls which were previously pure ? Such a capricious disposition is contrary to the nature of God. Thus Jainism holds that *Atma*, owing to the effects exerted upon it by matter, is impure from eternity.

It is the characteristic of *Draba Karamas* that they produce *Bhava Karamas*, that is, *Rag Dwaish* and *Moh*, in soul ; and the past *Draba Karamas*, having produced their result, that is, having given pleasure or pain to the soul, produce *Rag Dwaish* and *Moh* in it, which, in their turn, attract other *Draba Karamas*, the fruits of which *Atma* tastes in the future. *Rag Dwaish* and *Moh* are the origin of good and bad actions, because actions are nothing but the outward expressions of the feelings of the mind.

So long as this process goes on, soul is subject to birth and death, assumes new bodies, and is born in high or low position, according to the merit and demerit of its actions. Thus it will be seen that there is no need of any personal Creator, and that the combination of *Draba Karamas* and *Bhava Karamas* with soul is the the origin of the *sansari* condition.

Then there are three states of *Atma*,—*Ashubho Upug*, *Shubho Upug* and *Shudho Upug*. *Ashubho Upug* includes bad feelings and actions, such as carnal desires, anger, stealing, and killing, etc. which attract towards *Atma* such *Draba Karamas* as bring it into the circumstances and conditions in which it suffers pain and misery. *Shubho Upug* includes good feelings and actions—such as kind-heartedness, desire for the good of others, devotional exercises and the like, which attract towards *Atma* such *Draba Karamas* as bring it into the circumstances and conditions in which it enjoys material comforts and happi-

ness. *Subho Upug* is the state in which one knows the nature of *jiva*, and *ajiva*, and frees oneself from *Rag Dwaish* and *Moh*. So long as *Atma* remains with *Shubho Upug*, and *Ashubho Upug*, it is bound by *Karamas*, and continues subject to birth and death. But when it abandons both of these states and embraces that of *Sudho Upug*, it becomes disentangled from *Karamas* and attains to its own distinguishing attribute. *Atma*, when it has reached this stage, becomes God, and is worshipped in Jainism. Jainism does not propound the existence of any particular personal God, but teaches that every *Atma*, when freed from *Karamas*, is God.

Here it may be asked whether God is one, or many. A Jaini will answer, that God is one as well as not only many, but infinite. In respect of *Sarup* (condition), God is one ; but as regards number, He is infinite. The condition in which *Atma* (soul) becomes *Paramatma* (God), is one, *i.e.*, it is identically the same. In reality Jainism worships, not any particular *Atma*, but the condition in which *Atma* exists as perfect, pure, good, all-knowing, all-seeing and all-powerful. In Jainism, prominence is given, not to the individuality, but to the condition in which *Atma* (soul) becomes *Paramatma* (God), and that condition, whatever may be the number of the souls individually, is identically one and the same. For the religions which lay down that, after *Mukti* (salvation), there is no difference between the souls which have obtained salvation, and God, it is absurd to hold absolutely that *Atma*, after emancipation, becomes one with God. This can be truly held only in respect of the position or condition, as above described. As regards number, such an amalgamation with God does not accord with reason. They admit that God is changeless and *Akhand* (entire). Now I ask, when soul amalgamates with God, does it exist, or does it become annihilated? If it be answered that it exists, then there must be some addition to the *Brahma* (God) and consequently the answer is inconsistent with the doctrine that God is changeless ; if, on the other hand, it be held that the individual soul is annihilated, then it is inconsistent with the assertion that soul is *Abnashi* (imperishable). Thus the oneness of God is true, not absolutely, but only in a certain respect.

I now proceed to give some account of *ajivas* (entities that are not soul), the first of which is *Aakash* (space), which is also uncreated and eternal. Its distinguishing attribute is to give place to the other five *Drabas*. It is *Akhand* (one, entire) and infinite.

The second of the entities that are not soul is *Pudgal* (matter), which is also eternal and uncreated. It exists either in the form of *Paramanus* (atoms), or in the form of *Askhandas*, (combinations

of atoms). It has four *Gunas* (distinguishing attributes), which are *Saparsh* (tangibility), *Ras* (taste), *Gandh* (smell) and *Barun* (colour). These are the distinguishing attributes of matter. Sound is also a *Peryas* (condition) of matter; that is, when combinations of atoms strike against each other, sound is produced. Some men hold that sound is an attribute of space; but a little consideration will show that this view is not tenable. When a thing is *Amurteek* (without form), its attributes must also be without form. Now space is without form; but we find that sound is not without form, because it can be obstructed by material things such as walls, doors &c.; therefore sound cannot be an attribute of space. *Saparsh* includes hardness, and softness; roughness and smoothness; heat and cold; lightness and heaviness. Atoms are never without these four attributes, though in some of them there may be the preponderance of all the four, while in others three, two, or one may preponderate. Earth is composed of those atoms in which there is a preponderance of all the four, namely, tangibility, taste, smell, and colour; water of those in which there is a preponderance of three, *viz.*, tangibility, taste and colour; air of those in which there is a preponderance of tangibility only.

Atoms are indivisible, but combine and form bodies visible to us. Two attributes, that is, roughness and smoothness, are the cause of their combination. Atoms in which there is the same degree of these two attributes, do not combine. If there be two atoms in which there is the same degree either of roughness or of smoothness, or of roughness in one and smoothness in the other, they do not combine. But if in one of the atoms either of these attributes be twice as much as the same or the opposite attribute in the second atom, then the first will attract the second, and they will combine. Thus combination and separation are always going on among the atoms.

Combinations of matter are of six kinds,—*Bader Bader*, such as stone, wood &c.; *Bader*, such as milk, water &c., *Bader Suksham*, such as sun-shine, or moonlight; *Suksham Bader*, such as smell, sound &c.; *Suksham*, such as the eight kinds of *Karamas*, *Suksham Suksham*, such as combinations of two atoms.

The third of the *ajivas* is *Kal* (time), which is also an uncreated and eternal *Draba*. The distinguishing attribute of time is to bring on changes. In Jainism, time is of two kinds—*Nishchai Kal* and *Bivhar Kal*, but the latter is not a real entity; it is only a condition of the former. *Nishchai Kal* pervades the whole *Tirloks* (universe), that is, there are an infinite number of *Kal Anus* (small particles, called *Kal*)—one *Anu* on every smallest part of space. These *Kal Anus* are

invisible. This is the real *Kal Draba*, which gives rise to *Bivahar Kal*, such as hours, days &c. *Bivahar Kal* is determined by the movement of the material atoms from one *Kal Anu* to another. The smallest *Bivahar Kal* is *Sama*, during which a material atom passes from one *Kal Anu* to another. In the same way all other kinds of *Bivahar Kal* are determined by the movement of other material bodies.

The remaining two *Drabas*, that is, *Dharm*, and *Adharm*, as they are unknown to other religionists, are peculiar to Jainism. The distinguishing attribute of *Dharm Draba* is that it helps soul and matter to move, while that of *Adharm* is to help them to cease to move. These two *Drabas*, like *Aakash*, are also not infinite in number, but one, entire, pervading the *Tirloks* (world).

Perhaps the reader will not clearly see why the existence of these two entities is admitted in Jainism. Therefore, I will endeavour to make it clear. There are two kinds of attributes of every entity,—those which are dependent only upon the *Draba* of which they are attributes, and those which require for their existence also the help of some other *Draba*; as for instance the *Gyan* (power of knowing) of Atma, is dependent upon the Atma itself, but the quality of being a man does not depend only upon Atma, but requires the help of *Draba Karamas*. In the same way, *Saparsh*, *Ras*, *Gandh*, *Barun*, of matter depend upon the matter itself; but the quality of being a pitcher does not only depend upon the matter itself, but requires the help of a potter. The first kind of attributes are the *Suvabhava* of *Draba*, and except such *Suvabhava* all other attributes require the help of some other *Draba*. The former *Draba* is called the *Upadan Karun*. The *Suvabhava* of a *Draba* requires only *Upadan Karun*, but other attributes require both. Now it is mentioned above that the *Suvabhava* of *Jiva*, is *Gyan*, and that the *Suvabhava* of matter is *Saparsh*, *Ras*, *Gandh*, *Barun* and *Shabd* (sound); but in soul and matter we also find motion and cessation of motion for which there must be some *nimit Karun*, and these are, in the Jain Shastras, described by the names of *Dharm* and *Adharm*.

Thus, according to Jainism, these six *Drabas* are *Anad Nidhun* (uncreated and eternal); and, as the three *tirloks* (world) are composed and made of these six *Drabas*, therefore the world is also *Anad Nidhun*. As the condition of *Drabas* changes, it may, with reference to condition, be rightly regarded as unreal and perishable, but, with reference to the *Drabas* themselves, it is eternal and imperishable.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The importance of the above interesting account of the doctrines of Jainism, on what may be called its philosophic side, can hardly be overestimated. Though it leaves much untold, and in some particulars is not wholly free from obscurity, it goes a long way towards filling up a recognised gap in our knowledge of Indian philosophies. All attempt at detailed criticism must be reserved for a future opportunity; in the meantime, there are certain salient features that may be noted, and certain questions that may be asked.

In the first place, it will be observed that, in its view of the nature of Being, the system is primarily dualistic, though it regards non-mind or, rather, non-soul as comprising five independent and eternal entities, *viz.* matter, space, time, and *dharm* and *adharma*—the latter two apparently corresponding to force and inertia (?). In its treatment of the properties of matter, it in some respects anticipates modern conceptions to an extent which, regard being had to the crude state of physical science at the time when, in all probability, it was elaborated, is remarkable; though it cannot be said that in this respect it is singular; indeed, in some of its features the system seems to betray clearly the influence of Aristotle, and, perhaps, of earlier Greek writers. Its rejection of whatever is contradictory of the evidence of the senses in their healthy and normal condition seems to rank it, so far, with the "common-sense" school of philosophy. It appears, so far as can be gathered from the writer's account, to evade the crucial question of the way in which matter acts upon mind, or soul. Holding, as it does, that each and every soul is eternal, it stands in opposition to the Vedantic doctrine of absorption.

The questions which suggest themselves are many. Among them, it may be asked how the doctrine that soul, on its emancipation from the worldly condition of bondage with the *karmas*, becomes not only "perfect," "pure," "good," "all-knowing" and "all-seeing," but also "all-powerful," is reconcilable with the doctrine that it retains its individuality, and consequently that souls in this state are innumerable. How, in other words, can each of two or more souls be all-powerful? Then, again, there is an apparent, though possibly only apparent, inconsistency between the view that God (Brahma) is many—in fact, infinite in number, though identical in kind; being, indeed, no other than the infinitely numerous *paramalmas*—and the statement of the writer, that "by various revelations it appears clear that God desires soul to become pure and obtain salvation; but, if such is God's wish, why should God Himself have rendered impure, souls which were previously pure? Such a capricious disposition is contrary to the nature of God;"

where the phraseology used seems to imply the existence of one God, distinct from the emancipated *atmas*.

Further, it may be asked how, whether the desire in question—that souls may be pure and obtain salvation—be predicated of a universal Brahma, or of each and every individual emancipated *atma*, its existence, concurrently with the existence of *atmas* in a state of bondage with *karmas*, is reconcileable with the doctrine which attributes omnipotence to this universal Brahma, or to these infinitely numerous *paramatmas*, as the case may be.

The writer, it may be observed, is silent regarding the question of the relation, if any, existing, or capable of existing, between the individual *paramatmas*, on the one hand, of, on the other, between those *paramatmas* and the *jivas* in the worldly condition, whose emancipation “God” is said to desire.

In conclusion, it may be added that, in order to convert them into readable English, I have had, in many instances, to modify the writer's expressions. In some cases, I have done so in fear and trembling, lest I should unconsciously misrepresent his meaning. I think I have avoided this ; but, if I have not, I trust that he will set me right.

In the latter part of the paper, treating of the *ajivas*, and especially in those passages which deal with the laws of the combination of atoms, the nature of time, and the mode of operation of *dharm* and *adharma*, there are obscurities which I have had no alternative but to leave as they stand.

EDITOR, C. R.

ART. IX.—THE PROBLEM OF SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE Research* Institute, as foreshadowed in Mr. J. N. Tata's scheme, if it could be successfully launched upon its career of utility, might be expected to open a new era in the history of the intellectual and industrial development of India. The scheme, alike colossal and magnificent in its conception, is worthy of the great Parsi philanthropist, whose patriotism is only equalled by his princely munificence.

It is characteristic of the originator of the scheme that he has not suddenly sprung it upon the Indian public for the sake of sensation-making. Mr. Tata, ably seconded by his energetic and indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Padshah, has diligently studied the subject; approached the representatives of the Government, from the Viceroy downwards, and sought counsel of some of the most eminent educationists.

The present seems to be an opportune moment to take a rapid survey of all that has hitherto been done or attempted in the direction of imparting scientific education in this country, especially keeping in view the particular branch of science with which I have the honour to be connected——Chemistry. Before proceeding further, it may be better, by way of preface, to glance for a moment at the origin and development of Synthetic Chemistry.

When, some four years ago, M. Berthelot drew a picture of the happy millennium to dawn about the year 2000 A. D. when all the necessary articles of food would be artificially prepared by the chemist from the very elements, when foreign lands would not be worth fighting for, when wars and annexations would be things of the past, as rich harvests would be gathered in the laboratory, his utterances were regarded by many as those of a visionary. But the Perpetual Secretary of the great Academy of Sciences, himself a mighty and untiring worker for nearly half a century in the field of Synthetic Chemistry, is not to be ranked as a day-dreamer. In order fully to realise what Synthetic Chemistry has already done and may be expected to achieve in the future, it is only necessary to direct our attention for a moment to Germany as it was at the beginning of this century. It was in the year 1828 that Wöhler startled the scientific world by the artificial preparation of urea. No single chemical discovery of this Century" writes Professor Thorpe, "has exercised so great an influence on the development of scientific thought

* A Research Institute in India. (A provisional Scheme)

With it was opened out a new domain of investigation, upon which the chemist instantly seized. The present generation, which is constantly gathering such rich harvests from the territory won for it by Wöhler, can only with difficulty transport itself back to that remote period in which the creation of an organic compound within the body of a plant or an animal appeared to be conditioned in some mysterious way by the vital force, and they can hardly realise the impression which the building up of urea from its elements then made upon men's minds."

At about this period Liebig, a countryman of Wöhler's, immortalised his name by a series of equally brilliant syntheses of organic compounds. It is not a little remarkable that both these great German founders of Synthetic Chemistry had to travel to foreign lands to catch their inspiration at the fountain head. Wöhler had, in 1823, journeyed to Stockholm, to sit at the feet of his master, Berzelius, and Liebig had repaired to Paris, to be associated with Gay-Lussac in his epoch-making researches on the explosive compounds commonly known as the fulminates.

The history of the modern supremacy of Germany in the industrial world is the history of the triumphs achieved by successive generations of silent and patient workers in the Laboratory, the bare enumeration of which would occupy some pages. It may suffice to allude to the synthesis of *Conine*, the poisonous principle of hemlock, the first artificial formation of an alkaloid by Ladenberg; of Alizarine from Coal tar derivatives by Graebe and Liebermann; of Indigo by Baeyer, and of the Sugars by Emil Fischer.

In order to illustrate the economical disturbances brought about by a single chemical discovery, it is only necessary to bring into prominence that of alizarine. "The synthetic formation of alizarine created nothing less than a revolution in one of our leading industries, and completely destroyed a staple trade of France, Holland, Italy, and Turkey. Alizarine is one of the main products of the madder plant, the roots of which have been used from time immemorial for the sake of the dyes which they contain. Pliny tells us that in his time madder was well known to the sordid and avaricious, and this because of the large profits obtained from it owing to its employment in dyeing wool and leather. Originally it was grown almost exclusively in India, Persia and the Levant. The Moors introduced it into Spain, whence it formed its way into the Netherlands, Alsace and Avignon were long celebrated for their madder. Twenty years ago, it was the most important of the natural dye-stuffs used by the calico printer and Turkey red dyer; and the annual import of this country

was valued at £1,250,000 sterling, the South Lancashire district alone consuming upwards of 150 tons weekly. The chemist has changed all these, and the cultivation of the various species of the *Rubiaceæ* for the purposes of the dyer, which has continued for thousands of years down to our own time, is now practically at an end (Thorpe). And India the home of the madder plant has been reduced to the condition of having to import 31 lakhs of Rupees worth Alizarine annually. The fate of the Indigo industry of Bengal is already trembling in the balance, and although the planters have taken to improving and cheapening the process of manufacture they can at best postpone the disaster for a time; avert it they cannot. Artificial Indigo will sooner or later supplant the natural dye stuff.

Some time ago I wrote to a friend and fellow student of mine at Edinburgh who is now engaged as a chemist in one of the big dye works (Farbwerke) in Germany, to furnish me with some idea as to the working capacity of a dye-work. No apology is needed for quoting some portion of the letter I received. "I merely mention that we have 22 Kms. of rails in the works for the ten little engines which carry materials from any part of the works to any other. We have gasometers, lots of electric light, and electric transmission of energy. In the Laboratories we have turbines and steam engines . . . electric driven stirring apparatus, vacuum pipes, compressed air, &c. In some Laboratories there is electricity. Professor Le Blanc, the celebrated electrical Chemist, is head of our electro-technical Laboratory. We manufacture Sodium by electrolysis. There are now 100 chemists, 3,500 workmen, and a staff of about 150 clerks and officials I am engaged almost entirely in new investigations. The work is interesting and well paid. My work has been for years almost entirely confined to organic Chemistry."

The most notable feature in these dye-works is the stimulus and encouragement given to original research, so that, while new discoveries are cropping up from time to time, bringing in handsome returns to the capital employed, the bounds of science are at the same time enlarged.

I trust enough has been said above to justify the commanding position assigned to chemical science in Mr. Tata's Scheme (see below); at the very outset, however, we are confronted with a serious difficulty as to how to give it a practical shape; its weak point seems to be its failure to take full advantage of some of the existing institutions.

The founding of something like a Faraday Davy Institute, where only scientists of acknowledged position would carry on their investigations, would be wide of the mark and out of

place in a country like India. The conditions favourable for the growth and development of original research seem to be that a student should work under the direction and supervision of, or in conjunction with, a Professor who is himself engaged in original investigations, and who is thus capable of infusing his own spirit and enthusiasm into his pupil. It is in this humble and modest way that a foundation has been laid in England, Germany, &c., for the creation of a race of original workers and thinkers. The initiative in this direction has already been taken.

Let me more fully illustrate what has been said just now by reference to the state of things which obtains at the Presidency College. Here we have already a well organised staff of professors, demonstrators, assistants, &c., and fairly well equipped laboratories to carry on the major part of the work formulated in Mr. Tata's scheme;* the electric engineering and agricultural chemistry, of which there are no chairs in this college, are however, fully represented elsewhere.

On a rough calculation, it is found that the up-keep of the scientific department of the Presidency College alone costs about Rs. 60,000 a year, which, if capitalised at 3 per cent., would amount to 20 lacs of rupees. To this must now be added the outlay incurred for the two Laboratories, with fittings and apparatus as accumulated by the slow and gradual additions during the last quarter of a century—an outlay not falling short of 4 lacs of rupees. It with thus be evident that the scientific teaching and work going on at the Presidency College represents a capital of about 24 lacs.

In the proposed scheme we find that a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 (one lac) has been set apart as the initial outlay for the Chemical Laboratory (apart from building). Now in the new chemical Laboratory of this college, the fittings alone

* Scientific and Technical Department.

2. The subjects in which instruction is to be given and researches conducted should include the following:—

(a.) Physics—Advanced courses in all departments, including Mathematical Physics and Electric Engineering.

(b.) Chemistry—(1) Advanced Inorganic Chemistry.

(2) Organic Chemistry.

(3) Analytical Chemistry.

(4) Agricultural Chemistry.

(c.) Technological Chemistry applied to different Arts and Industries.

3. For the above courses the following Professorial Staff will be necessary:—

(a.) One Professor.

One Assistant Professor.

(b.) Two Senior Professors for (2) and (3).

Two Junior Professors for (1) and (4).

(c.) One Professor.

cost Rs. 65,000 and the total valuation of it, including building, apparatus and appliances, may be put down at somewhere near 2½ lacs. This splendid Laboratory has the merit of being planned and worked out by one who combines in himself an experience of 25 years' educational labours in India and a knowledge of the best laboratories of Europe, and whose position in the world of science stood pre-eminent—one in fact who is unquestionably the ablest expert on the subject in India. Such being the case, it is scarcely to be expected that the proposed Laboratory will at all come up to the standard of the existing one, in spite of the fact that the entire gift of Mr. Tata is likely to be swallowed up by it. What has been said above applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to some other laboratories as well, e.g., the Physical Laboratory of this College and the Chemical, Physiological and Pathological Laboratories under course of construction in connection with the Calcutta Medical College.

In my humble opinion, it would be a waste of money and a diversion and misapplication of energies, to aim at creating a separate Institute. It would be more conducive to the cause of science in India if the existing institutions in the different parts of India, the colleges for physical, science, medicine, engineering and agriculture, were utilised to the fullest extent and, whenever found necessary, widened in scope and improved upon. For instance, a wing might be added here and a chair endowed there.

A misapprehension seems to prevail, I am afraid, as regards the scope and capacity of some of the existing institutions. This misapprehension seems to arise from the circumstance that we have hitherto had to be contented with simply preparing students for a prescribed course of study in sciences as required for the University examinations, and that we have not as yet been able to produce original workers. This deplorable state of things is due to causes over which those who are responsible for teaching sciences have absolutely no control. There is, practically, no career open to those who would devote themselves to science. The flower of the graduates and undergraduates are necessarily attracted to the professions of the law, medicine and engineering, which, though they are becoming over-crowded day by day, still hold out the highest prizes in life. A good few are also annually absorbed in the provincial executive service, now filled up by open competitive examinations. As it is, only second or third-rate students are found to take up chemistry for the M. A. degree, and they choose the subject, not because they have any particular liking for it, but because they want to have a diploma of the mastership attached to their names. In Europe and

America the cultivation of science and its application in the arts go hand in hand. Some of the German dye-works, as has been seen above, each giving employment to 100 chemists or more.

What is, however, badly needed is encouragement in the shape of handsome post-graduate fellowships, for the creation of which the fund which is proposed to be raised with Mr. Tata's donation as the nucleus, should be set apart, and these to be distributed to the several provinces of India, giving the holders thereof full option to carry on their research at any well-recognised place or institution. For instance, a graduate who has taken honors in M. A. in botany might be encouraged to continue his work under the Superintendent of the Rôyal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, who is always an specialist.

A graduate in medicine, again, who has, in the opinion of his professors and examiners, shown aptitude for pathology and physiology, should be associated with Dr. Haffkine or Mr. Hankine to study Bacteriology. Then again the Physical and Chemical Laboratories of the Presidency College might each accommodate half-a-dozen students engaged in original research. In this way a kind of healthy inter-provincial emulation would also be set up. For instance, if Madras found that her own graduates had to travel all the way to Calcutta and there reside for some three years to be trained in original investigation in one particular branch, she would certainly look about and take steps to wipe off what she could not help regarding as a reproach.

When, by the slow and gradual revolution of the plan sketched above, a trained band of original workers had been secured, they might further be encouraged to proceed to Europe to round off their education under veteran specialists.

Taking the scheme as it is, there seems to be some confusion of ideas. A chair of Analytical Chemistry is vague and almost unmeaning everywhere, except, perhaps, in one or two places in Germany, where the highest degree of specialisation is aimed at, and the *Analytical Laboratory* is under the direct control and supervision of the Professors themselves, though the work is mainly conducted by efficient demonstrators. Then it is found that too much is expected of a Professor of "Technological Chemistry applied to different Arts and Industries," with his staff of a demonstrator and glass-blower, &c. The industries under this head, which ought to receive earnest attention are : glass, soap, matches and candle-making, earthenware and pottery, tanning, dyeing, vulcanisation of caoutchouc, pharmaceutical preparations, including the extraction of the alkaloids of the cinchona bark, nux vomica, opium and the thousand and one other indigenous drugs. It is found that in the year

ending 31st March, 1897, India had to import about 26 lakhs of rupees worth of tanned leather and articles made thereof, 11 lakhs worth of candles, 70 lakhs worth of glass articles; earthenware and porcelain valued at 21 lakhs in round numbers; matches at 29 lakhs; soap at 12 lakhs, dyeing and tanning materials at 73 lakhs, and so on.*

Two match factories and a glass factory were started near Calcutta only a few years ago, and they have all come to grief for lack of technical knowledge and experience. The projectors made the serious blunder of putting the cart before the horse. They discovered, when it was too late, that, unless they could engage experts in England or Germany at a heavy premium—a premium which would swallow up all the profits and something more—it would be hopeless to carry on the business. It would be nothing short of a miracle if a single Professor of Technological Chemistry were to achieve for us the desired end. In these days of high specialisation in the arts, the slightest improvement in one direction and the cheapening of prices arising therefrom, would be enough to give a particular industry a decided advantage over its rivals. Some ten years ago "Bryant and May's safety matches" had undisputed command over the Indian market; now-a-days matches made in Sweden and Japan have almost completely ousted the former. It is of no use turning out a set of smatterers and jacks-of-all-trades, for this is what we are driving at in the proposed scheme. It is to be doubted if a dozen chairs on Technological Chemistry would fulfil the object. What appears to be the proper course to adopt is that a chosen and picked number of students be sent annually to Europe and America and there be apprenticed for a number of years, if necessary under payment of premium, to learn the technical arts and acquire expert knowledge. These, when they return home after the expiry of their indentures, will always be in request, and it is through the agency of such men that we hope to start the chemical industries by and bye.

One important branch of science appears to have been overlooked—Geology and Mining. The mineral resources of our country have been only imperfectly developed, and a curriculum in science would be rather one-sided which did not take into account the vast dimensions which the mining industry is likely to acquire in the future.

India being essentially an agricultural country, the sciences relating to agriculture should also demand the fullest consideration, and, instead of a single chair of agricultural chemistry representing it, ample provision should be made

* *Vide* "Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India with foreign countries."

for the study of Zoology, with special reference to entomology and sericulture, veterinary medicine, botany, forestry, &c.

It will probably be objected that, by attempting too many things at a time, the scheme will become cumbrous and expensive and therefore unworkable. We have fortunately, even in the direction of agricultural education, ample materials to work upon.

The School of forestry at Dehra Doon, the Agricultural Farm at Saidaput, Madras, the newly-created lectureship on agriculture at the Seebpur Engineering College, and that on Geology at the Presidency College, the Poona College of Science,* and the School of veterinary surgery and medicine, at Sodepur near Calcutta, fulfil much of what is expected of a College of Agriculture such as we got attached to the Imperial University of Tōkio. Surely we cannot expect a more qualified person than Dr. Leather, who was appointed on the strong recommendation of Dr. Vöelcker.

Let us now take a hasty glance at medicine. There are some ten chairs attached to the Calcutta Medical College. Bombay, Madras and Lahore each has a Medical College of the same status. There cannot be less than 35 Professorships, all told, in these four Medical Colleges. Taking the average pay of a Professor at Rs. 1,500, we have the respectable sum of over Rs. 50,000 per month given away in salary alone. These medical institutions, the premier one having been founded more than 60 years ago, during the beneficent administration of Lord William Bentinck, have done excellent service in their days: but they have been allowed to outgrow the requirements of the time. The system in vogue under which recruitment for these posts is confined to the Covenanted Indian Medical Service, is open to grave objections. An arrangement which tolerates that the Civil Surgeon, say of Sultanpur, should awake one morning and, to his infinite surprise, find himself appointed by telegram a Professor of Physiology, through no qualifications of his own, but solely by virtue of his seniority in the graded service, must be pronounced a glaring anachronism, which is seriously hampering the progress of science in this country. None but specialists should hold these posts and the remuneration attached to them is by no means inadequate to the purpose.

* Staff of the Poona College of Science for scientific subjects.

1 Professor of Geology and chemistry.

1 " " Engineering.

1 " " Forestry.

1 " " Civil Engineering.

1 Lecturer of Agriculture and Botany.

1 " " Optics and Astronomy.

1 " " Veterinary subjects.

There are already some sixty or more Professorships and lectureships in science*, including medicine, chemistry, physics, agriculture, geology and engineering, scattered in the different parts of India. Let these all be co-ordinated to one general purpose; let these be utilised to the fullest extent, and their efficiency be increased; let a Laboratory be associated with each of them. If, on an average, we can secure two post-graduate scholarships in connection with these chairs, we can thus hope to attract 120 students to carry on original investigations. A noble beginning will thus have been made.

India is not a compact, homogeneous country, like Japan. A central Research Institute with an "Imperial University," like* that of Tōkyō, does not seem to commend itself. The Calcutta University is going to give a stimulus to original research by creating the degree of Doctor of Science. A separate University is not needed.

If I have been led to indulge in a good deal of destructive criticism, it is because I am sincerely convinced that the modified plan I am submitting is likely to secure a maximum of work and efficiency.

P. C. RAY.

* I am taking into consideration only the first rate institutions. The mofussil Colleges are left out of calculation.

ART. X.—THE RELIGION OF BOETHIUS.

IN the brief biographical Memoir prefixed by him to his recent graceful translation of the "Consolation of Philosophy" of Boethius, Mr. H. R. James, judiciously enough, passed over the vexed question of the religion of the author. Yet the question seems interesting enough to justify a restatement of the facts of the case, as it stands to-day after a controversy of ten centuries. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that it is a question of surpassing interest, not merely in virtue of the imposing, if somewhat shadowy, personality of the man whose qualities earned for him from posterity the title, at once noble and pathetic, of "the last of the Romans," but on account of the curious psychological problem it involves.

It will be convenient to set out by stating shortly the little that is known of the life of the author of the "De Consolatione Philosophiæ," and pointing out what seems to us to be the bearing of the facts upon the question at issue.

Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, then, was the son of Aurelius Manlius Boethius, whose Christianity is unquestioned, and who, after holding other high offices at Rome, under Odovacar, was Consul in A.D. 487. The date of the birth of the younger Boethius is uncertain; but it could hardly have been earlier than 475, or later than 483 A.D. His father dying when he was still a child, he was brought up by his kinsman, Symmachus, a Christian who had the reputation of being a man of exemplary piety, and whose daughter, Rusticiana, he married.

Boethius appears to have distinguished himself from an early age by his devotion to letters, especially to the works of the Greek philosophers, many of which, as will be noticed later on, he translated into Latin. When or how he first came into contact with public affairs, there is no evidence to show. Not improbably he attracted the attention of the Ostrogoth, Theodoric, soon after the triumphal entry of that conqueror into Rome, in 504 A.D. At all events, he became a Senator, with the high title of Patrician at the age of thirty; and was elected sole Consul in the year 510. Twelve years later, so great was his influence at Rome that his two sons, Symmachus and Boethius, mere youths as they were, were made joint Consuls. On this proud occasion, the elder Boethius was himself selected to pronounce the customary panegyric on the King, who further marked his sense of his services by creating him *Magister Officiorum*, in which capacity it was his duty to be in more or less constant attendance on the King's person.

Then a thunderbolt burst from a sky which, to us at this distance at least, appears to have been cloudless. Taking advantage of a state of suspicion which had been created in the mind of Theodoric by certain symptoms of unrest in Rome, one Cyprian, who then filled the post of Referendary in the Royal Court of Appeal, laid an information against Albinus, a senator and patrician, to the effect that he had sent letters against the King's rule to the Emperor Justin. Albinus was called before the Court at Verona and denied the charge; whereupon, according to the Anonymus Valesii—a fragment appended to the history of Ammianus Marcellinus, and ascribed, with much probability, to Maximian, who was Bishop of Ravenna between 546 and 556 A.D.—, "Boethius the patrician, who was Master of the offices, said to the King's face: 'False is the information of Cyprian; but if Albinus did it, then both I and the whole senate did it with one consent. It is wholly false, O Lord, my King!' Then Cyprian, with hesitation, brought forward false witnesses, not only against Albinus, but also against Boethius, his defender. But the King was laying a snare for the Romans, and seeking how he might destroy them: he put more trust in the false witnesses than in the senators. Then Albinus and Boethius were taken in custody to the baptistery of the Church. But the King sent for Eusebius, prefect of the City of Ticinum, and without giving Boethius a hearing, passed sentence upon him. The King sent and caused him to be put to death on the Calventian property, where he was held in custody. He was tortured for a very long time with a cord bound round his forehead, so that his eyes started; then at last, in the midst of his torments, he was killed with a club."*

Apart from the above series of facts, what is certainly known regarding Boethius may practically be summed up in the further fact that he was the author, actual or reputed, of certain literary works of diverse character, which will be described further hereafter. First, however, let us pause and consider the bearing of what has been already stated on the subject of our article.

First, then, as to the conditions of Boethius' birth and education, it is to be observed that, while they create a strong presumption that he would have had a Christian training, and while this, again, may fairly be regarded as implying that, before he attained an age at which he might be expected to think for himself in such matters, he was at least a nominal Christian, the facts carry us no further than this.

The marriage of Boethius to Rusticiana stands, it may,

* The translation quoted is that given by Mr. H. F. Stewart in his admirable essay on "Boethius."

perhaps, be urged, on a somewhat different footing. In view, that is to say, of the exalted piety of Symmachus, his father-in-law, it may be regarded as creating a presumption that, at the time of the marriage, that worthy at all events believed Boethius to be something, more than a merely nominal Christian. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that, at the time of his marriage, Boethius had hardly arrived at an age at which he could reasonably be expected to have settled convictions on such a subject as the truth of Christianity, and, at the most, could have barely entered upon that profound study of the Greek philosophers which occupied so great a part of his mature years.

We come next to a fact on which more or less stress has been laid by most of the writers who uphold the Christianity of Boethius, among them by Mr. H. F. Stewart, in the essay on Boethius already referred to. This is that he held a number of public offices at Rome for which, by law, a profession of Christianity was, in the reign of Theodoric—though himself a heretic—an indispensable qualification. It is to be observed, however, that the question with which we are concerned is not what religion Boethius professed, but what he believed. The former question is relevant to the latter only to the extent to which the profession may reasonably be regarded as a criterion of the belief. Looked at from a general point of view, this is largely a question of the state of religious thought and feeling in the society to which the person concerned belongs; and it is, further, a question in the consideration of which the degree of pressure put by that society on its individual members, through its laws, or through public opinion, cannot be disregarded. There are states of society in which a man's profession of religion may reasonably be accepted as almost conclusive evidence of his belief, so far as he has any real belief, in the matter; and there are others, again, in which a man's profession of religion is entitled to very little weight as evidence of his belief. The state of society in Rome in the early part of the sixth Century of our era when paganism still lingered among the masses, and, a considerable proportion of cultured men were sceptics, but conformity to Christianity was imposed by law, was of the latter kind.

When narrowed down to individual cases, on the other hand, the question becomes partly one of personal character and partly one of the immediate circumstances under which the profession is made. We know nothing of Boethius which would justify us in believing that, if he had not been a sincerely convinced Christian, he would have declined office rather than formally profess adherence to the State religion. Looking, in short, at the conditions of the times, at the fact that

he was of Christian family, the friend of Christians, and the husband of a Christian wife; looking, again, at the magnitude of the sacrifice which a different course would have imposed on him, we cannot consider the fact that, being called to high office the holding of which entailed a formal profession of Christianity, he did not refuse it, of any great importance as an indication of what his religious belief really was even at the time, still less of what it was many years afterwards, in the solitude of his prison cell at Pavia, which, after all, is the question really raised by the facts as we know them.

It remains to consider the bearing on the question at issue of the circumstances of Boethius' imprisonment and death. This, notwithstanding the belief long entertained to the contrary, is wholly negative. Ado, in his *Breviarium Ohronicon*, some two centuries after the death of Boethius, states positively that he died a martyr for the Christian faith, and the tradition that this was the case seems to have been universal throughout the Middle Ages. For this belief, however, there is not the smallest foundation. The *Anonymus Valesii*, whose account of the facts, written within a generation of the event, has been already quoted, whether, as is probable, he was the Bishop of Ravenna; or another, was evidently a man of strongly Christian sympathies. In either case, it is highly improbable that, if there had been any ground for the belief, he would have suppressed it, yet there is not a word in his narrative that lends the least countenance to it. Procopius, the historian of Byzantium, a contemporary writer, is equally silent as to there being any religious element either in the charge or in the motive for it. "Symmachus and Boethius, his son-in-law," he says, to quote Mr. Stewart's translation, "both of noble birth, were chiefs of the Roman Senate, and became Consuls. Their pre-eminence above their fellows in the practice of philosophy, their zeal for justice, the assistance they offered with their wealth to the poverty of many strangers and fellow-citizens alike, the great renown they acquired—all this combined to stir up the hatred of villainous men. And when they laid false information, Theodoric believed them and slew the two men, on the charge of plotting a revolution, and confiscated all their property."

Still more conclusive, Boethius himself in the account he gives of the matter in the *De Consolatione*, clearly describes the charge against him as purely political. He speaks of having been accused of preventing an informer from producing documents which would have proved the Senate guilty of treason; of forged letters by which he was accused of having *sought for Roman freedom*; of evil-minded men having sought

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his destruction, "in whom they saw the champion of both citizens and Senate;" of having been condemned to death and loss of rights *wholly on account of excess of zeal for the Senate*:—not a word about Christianity, or religion in any shape.

Taken together, the above series of facts, which, as we have already said, comprise, in brief, the main features of Boethius' life, apart from his literary labours, justify the inference that he was a professing Christian, but throw no clear light on the real nature of his religious belief. At the same time, it is to be observed that no question as to that belief arises out of them; for, though a man's profession of a particular religion is no proof of his convictions, it cannot be challenged till something is known to cast doubt on its sincerity. It is not till we come to consider the literary works of Boethius, and only when we come to consider the last of them, that the question we are discussing arises; and it arises then in such a form as to admit of no evasion.

These works may conveniently be placed under three heads, *vis.* (1) those which have no bearing on the question under discussion, and which comprise translations from the Greek into Latin of the works of Pythagoras on Music; of Ptolemy on Astronomy; of Nicomachus on Arithmetic; of Archimedes on Mechanics; of Euclid on Geometry, and, most important of all, no fewer than thirty books consisting of translations of the works of Aristotle, including the "Topica," the "Analytica," the "Categories," and the "De Syllogismo," with Commentaries on all these. (2) Those which, *quantum valeant*, support the conclusion that he was a believer in Christianity, and which, exclusive of the treatise *De Fide Catholica*, regarded by competent critics as undoubtedly spurious, comprise a Tractate on the Trinity (*De Trinitate*); a letter to John the Deacon, on the question whether trinity can be predicated of God substantially (*Utrum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus de Divinitate substantialiter predicentur*); a letter to the same John the Deacon on the Essential Goodness of Substances (*Quomodo Substantiæ bonæ sint*); and a Book against the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies (*Liber Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*).

(3). The famous *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, which makes for the conclusion that Boethius was not a believer in Christianity.

As we have said, it is only when we come to the last of these works that any question as to the religion of Boethius can be said logically to arise. To this it may be added that, though the evidence it affords against the Christianity of the writer falls short of absolute demonstration, it appears to us to be

of such a character as to justify the assertion that, if nothing had been known regarding Boethius except the fact of his having composed this work, there would have been no reasonable ground for doubting his non-belief in the doctrines of Christianity. More than this, it seems to us to be of such a character that, if, beyond the fact of his having composed this work, all that was known of Boethius had been the first series of facts considered above—the ascertained facts, that is to say, of his birth, education and marriage, his public career and his trial, imprisonment and death—the evidence afforded by these facts in favour of the conclusion that he was a believer in Christianity, confined as it is to the presumption arising from his profession of that faith, would have been a mere feather in the scale against the weight of the evidence furnished by this work to the contrary. In short, it is in the conflict between the testimony of the *De Consolatione* and the religious Tractates alone that any reasonable basis for controversy on the question under discussion can be found.

Before going any further, however, it will be well to set out, as succinctly as may be, the nature of the evidence furnished by the *De Consolatione*.

To quote the words of Mr. James in the Proem to his translation of the work, it is when he is "a solitary prisoner at Pavia, stripped of honours, wealth, and friends, with death hanging over him, and a terror worse than death, in the fear lest those dearest to him should be involved in the worst results of his downfall," that the opening of the "Consolation of Philosophy" brings Boethius before us. "He represents himself as sealed in his prison distraught with grief, indignant at the injustice of his misfortunes, and seeking relief from his melancholy in writing verses descriptive of his condition. Suddenly there appears to him the Divine figure of Philosophy, in the guise of a woman of superhuman dignity and beauty, who by a succession of discourses convinces him of the vanity of regret for the lost gifts of fortune, raises his mind once more to the contemplation of the true good, and makes clear to him the mystery of the world's moral government."

In what way Philosophy does this, and what manner of impression she produces on her interlocutor, may be imperfectly gathered from Mr. James' Summary of the Five Books of which the Consolation consists.

BOOK I.

THE SORROWS OF BOETHIUS.

SUMMARY.

Boethius' complaint (Song I.)—CH. I. Philosophy appears to Boethius, drives away the Muses of Poetry, and herself laments (Song II.) the disordered condition of his mind. CH. II. Boethius is speechless

with amazement. Philosophy wipes away the tears that have clouded his eyesight.—CH. III. Boethius recognises his mistress Philosophy. To his wondering inquiries she explains her presence, and recalls to his mind the persecutions to which Philosophy has oftentimes from of old been subjected by an ignorant world.—CH. IV. Philosophy bids Boethius declare his griefs. He relates the story of his unjust accusation and ruin. He concludes with a prayer (Song V.) that the moral disorder in human affairs may be set right.—CH. V. Philosophy admits the justice of Boethius' self-vindication, but grieves rather for the unhappy change in his mind. She will first tranquillize his spirit by soothing remedies.—CH. VI. Philosophy tests Boethius' mental state by certain questions, and discovers three chief causes of his soul's sickness: (1) He has forgotten his own true nature: (2) he knows not the end towards which the whole universe tends: (3) he knows not the means by which the world is governed.

BOOK II.

THE VANITY OF FORTUNE'S GIFTS.

SUMMARY.

CH. I. Philosophy reproves Boethius for the foolishness of his complaints against Fortune. Her very nature is caprice.—CH. II. Philosophy in Fortune's name replies to Boethius' reproaches, and proves that the gifts of Fortune are hers to give and to take away.—CH. III. Boethius falls back upon his present sense of misery. Philosophy reminds him of the brilliancy of his former fortunes.—CH. IV. Boethius objects that the memory of past happiness is the bitterest portion of the lot of the unhappy. Philosophy shows that much is still left for which he may be thankful. None enjoy perfect satisfaction with their lot. But happiness depends not on anything which Fortune can give. It is to be sought within.—CH. V. All the gifts of Fortune are external; they can never truly be our own. Man cannot find his good in worldly possessions. Riches bring anxiety and trouble.—CH. VI. High place without virtue is an evil, not a good. Power is an empty name.—CH. VII. Fame is a thing of little account when compared with the immensity of the Universe and the endlessness of Time.—CH. VIII. One service only can Fortune do, when she reveals her own nature and distinguishes true friends from false.

BOOK III.

TRUE HAPPINESS AND FALSE.

SUMMARY.

CH. I. Boethius beseeches Philosophy to continue. She promises to lead him to true happiness.—CH. II. Happiness is the one end which all created beings seek. They aim variously at (a) wealth, or (b) rank or (c) sovereignty, or (d) glory, or (e) pleasure, because they think thereby to attain either (a) contentment, (b) reverence, (c) power, (d) renown, or (e) gladness of heart, in one or other of which they severally imagine happiness to consist.—CH. III. Philosophy proceeds to consider whether happiness can really be secured in any of these ways. (a) So far from bringing contentment, riches only add to men's wants.—CH. IV. (b) High position cannot of itself win respect. Titles command no reverence in distant and barbarous lands. They even fall into contempt through lapse of time.—CH. V. (c) Sovereignty cannot even bestow safety. History tells of the downfall of kings and their ministers. Tyrants go in fear of their lives.—CH. VI. (d) Fame conferred on the unworthy is but disgrace. The splendour of noble birth is not a man's own, but his ancestors.—CH.

VII. (c) Pleasure begins in the restlessness of desire, and ends in repentance. Even the pure pleasures of home may turn to gall and bitterness.—CH. VIII. All fail, then, to give what they promise. There is, moreover, some accompanying evil involved in each of these aims. Beauty and bodily strength are likewise of little worth. In strength man is surpassed by the brutes; beauty is but outward show.—CH. IX. The source of men's error in following these phantoms of good is that *they break up and separate that which is in its nature one and indivisible*. Contentment, power, reverence, renown, and joy are essentially bound up one with the other, and, if they are to be attained at all, must be attained *together*. True happiness, if it can be found, will include them all. But it cannot be found among the perishable things hitherto considered.—CH. X. Such a happiness necessarily exists. Its seat is in God. Nay, God is very happiness, and in a manner, therefore, the happy man partakes also of the Divine nature. All other ends are relative to this good, since they are all pursued only for the sake of good; it is *good* which is the sole ultimate end. And since the sole end is also happiness, it is plain that this good and happiness are in essence the same. CH. XI. Unity is another aspect of goodness. Now, all things subsist so long only as they preserve the unity of their being; when they lose this unity, they perish. But the bent of nature forces all things (plants and inanimate things, as well as animals) to strive to continue in life. Therefore, all things desire unity, for unity is essential to life. But unity and goodness were shown to be the same. Therefore, good is proved to be the end towards which the whole universe tends*—CH. XII. Boethius acknowledges that he is but recollecting *truths he once knew*. Philosophy goes on to show that it is goodness also by which the whole world is governed.† Boethius professes compunction for his former folly. But the paradox of evil is introduced, and he is once more perplexed.

BOOK IV.

GOOD AND ILL FORTUNE.

SUMMARY.

CH. I. The mystery of the seeming moral confusion. Philosophy engages to make this plain, and to fulfil her former promise to the full.—CH. II. Accordingly, (a) she first expounds the paradox that the good alone have power, the bad are altogether powerless.—CH. III, (b) The righteous never lack their reward, nor the wicked their punishment. CH. IV. (c) The wicked are more unhappy when they accomplish their desires than when they fail to attain them. (d) Evil-doers are more fortunate when they expiate their crimes by suffering punishment than when they escape unpunished. (e) The wrong-doer is more wretched than he who suffers injury.—CH. V. Boethius still cannot understand why the distribution of happiness and misery to the righteous and the wicked seems the result of chance. Philosophy replies that this only seems so because we do not understand the principles of God's moral governance.—CH. VI. The distinction of Fate and Providence. The apparent moral confusion is due to our ignorance of the secret counsels of God's providence. If we possessed

* This solves the second of the points left in doubt at the end of bk. I, ch. vi.

† This solves the third. No distinct account is given of the first, but an answer may be gathered from the general argument of bks. ii., iii., and iv.

the key, we should see how all things are guided to good.—CH. VII. Thus all fortune is good fortune; for it either rewards, disciplines, amends, or punishes, and so is either useful or just.

BOOK V.

FREE WILL AND GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE.

SUMMARY.

CH. I. Boethius asks if there is really any such thing as chance.

Philosophy answers, in conformity with Aristotle's definition (*Phys.* II. iv.), that chance is merely relative to human purpose, and that what seems fortuitous really depends on a more subtle form of causation.—CH. II. Has man, then, any freedom, if the reign of law is thus absolute? Freedom of choice, replies Philosophy, is a necessary attribute of reason. Man has a measure of freedom, though a less perfect freedom than divine natures.—CH. III. But how can man's freedom be reconciled with God's absolute foreknowledge? If God's foreknowledge be certain, it seems to exclude the possibility of man's free will. But if man has no freedom of choice, it follows that rewards and punishments are unjust as well as useless; that merit and demerit are mere names; that God is the cause of men's wickednesses; that prayer is meaningless.—CH. IV. The explanation is that man's reasoning faculties are not adequate to the apprehension of the ways of God's foreknowledge. If we could know, as He knows, all that is most perplexing in this problem would be made plain. For knowledge depends not on the nature of the thing known, but on the faculty of the knower.—CH. V. Now, where our senses conflict with our reason, we defer the judgment of the lower faculty to the judgment of the higher. Our present perplexity arises from our viewing God's foreknowledge from the standpoint of human reason. We must try and rise to the higher standpoint of God's immediate intuition.—CH. VI. To understand this higher form of cognition, we must consider God's nature. God is eternal. Eternity is more than mere everlasting duration. Accordingly, His knowledge surveys past and future in the timelessness of an eternal present. His foreseeing is seeing. Yet this foreseeing does not in itself impose necessity, any more than our seeing things happen makes their happening necessary. We may, however, if we please, distinguish two necessities—one absolute, the other conditional on knowledge. In this conditional sense alone do the things which God foresees necessarily come to pass. But this kind of necessity affects not the nature of things. It leaves the reality of free will unimpaired, and the evils feared do not ensue. Our responsibility is great, since all that we do is done in the sight of allseeing Providence.

Now, in the theory of the Government of the Universe, the nature of Good and of Evil, and the relation of man to the Deity, here set forth—a theory to the truth and sufficiency of which, it should be premised, Boethius repeatedly declares his adherence—, not merely is there not one word that can be regarded as affirming, either explicitly or by implication, the truth of Christianity, but there is, from first to last, no reference, express or implied, to its doctrines. The evidence which the work affords of the state of the writer's mind on the subject, moreover, is far from being solely of this negative character. The theory of the origin and nature of evil,

whether physical or moral, put into the mouth of Philosophy and accepted by Boethius, is positively inconsistent with the doctrines of Christianity. As Mr. H. F. Stewart observes: "To the mind of Boethius, evil is what it was to the mind of Plato, nothing but a shadow, and a semblance; for God, who can do all things, cannot do evil. How, then, can evil exist? Certainly experience teaches us that something which we call physical evil is present with us, but, far from being evil in reality, it is an instrument for good, and its infliction is the greatest benefit that can be conferred upon the wicked. Moral evil, however, presents a difficulty different in kind and in degree from physical evil, and the arguments advanced by Boethius to disprove its reality are somewhat feeble and common-place. Thus, he speaks of the victims of moral evil as non-existent, as mere moral corpses, not seeing that the power to strike dead or wither implies a certain lively vigour and reality.

"Although he seems to be so far in accord with Christian doctrine that he looks upon moral evil as in no way limiting God's goodness, and on sin as the fruit of men's own wilful disobedience and free choice, as a disease of the soul and nothing more, still he is very vague and doubtful on this point, and chooses rather to confess the wickedness of the majority of mankind, than to include, with Augustine, the whole world in one sweeping Condemnation. Indeed, he recognises the possibility of man's attaining to perfection, and that without any assistance from divine grace. The notion of a world lost in sin and in need of a Redeemer is one that does not suggest itself to him at all."

The same may be said of Boethius' conception of man's duty. It is, to quote the same writer again, "to know himself in order that he may shortly become convinced of the utter worthlessness of external goods. He must conquer Fate; he must free his soul from the fetters of the body and let it soar to Heaven on the wings with which Philosophy will fit it, calling the while on God to help him in his effort to rise above the earth.

"This, then, is the ethic of Boethius,—to seek the highest good in God, to lead a pure life, knowing that every movement and every deed takes place in this eternal presence.

"The thought is noble, the words are not wanting in inspiration; but no one surely will have the hardihood to maintain that either thought or expression are (*sic*) particularly Christian. A moment's consideration of his doctrine of evil will bring this out into stronger relief. To it, as has been said above, he denies all real existence, and so precludes the necessity of redemption for sinful man; for sin brings

its own punishment with it and passion has power to weaken, but not to destroy. Wickedness is a sickness of the soul which should move our pity rather than our indignation."

In the scheme of rewards and punishments laid down by Boethius in Book IV, there is, perhaps, some appearance of conflict, but no indication of Christian belief. Thus, when Boethius enquires of Philosophy whether she takes no account of punishment of the soul after the death of the body, she replies; "Nay, truly, great are these punishments, some of them inflicted, I imagine, in severity of retribution, others in mercy of purification. But it is not my present purpose to speak of these." On the other hand, a moment afterwards, we find Philosophy saying: "But mark the ordinance of eternal law. Hast thou fashioned thy soul to the likeness of the better, thou hast no need of a judge to award the prize—by thine own act hast thou raised thyself in the scale of excellence; hast thou perverted thine affections to baser things, look not for punishment from one without thee—thine own act hath degraded thee and cast thee down."

The reference to the "mercy of purification" has been claimed by some of the champions of Boethius' Christianity as pointing to the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory. But Mr. Stewart points out that it is anticipated by Plato in the *Gorgias*:

"Εἰσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὠφελούμενοί τε καὶ δίκην δίδόντες ὑπὸ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων οἷτοι οἱ ἂν λάσιμα ἁμαρτήματα ἁμαρτῶσιν· ὅμως δὲ δὲ ἀλγυδόνων καὶ ὀδυνῶν γίγνεται αὐτοῖς ἡ ὠφελεία καὶ ἐνθαδὲ καὶ ἐν Αἴδου ὅν γὰρ δῶν τε ἄλλως ἀδικίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

Finally, it is clear that, while Boethius admits the immortality of the soul, he rejects the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body.

Mr. Stewart's synthesis of the ethical, and, if it deserves the name, theological, system of the *Consolation* is, in short, thoroughly just. That system, he says, "may be succinctly described as Platonic, modified by Aristotelianism; and, as a Roman of Boethius' tastes and education could not help having an intimate knowledge of Cicero and Seneca, there is nothing surprising in the strong dash of Stoicism that tinges the whole. But while he often echoes the doctrines of Proclus and Plotinus, he studiously avoids any attempt to blend Christ with Plato, such as was made by Synesius, and the pseudo-Dionysius in the fifth and sixth centuries.

"We find him in strenuous opposition—notwithstanding all that Hildebrand has to say to the contrary—to the Christian theory of creation, and his Dualism is at least as apparent as Plato's. We find him coquetting with the anti-Christian doctrine of the immortality of the world, and assuming a

position with regard to sin which is ultra-Pelagian and utterly untenable by a Christian theologian. We find him, with death before his eyes, deriving consolation, not from any hopes of a resurrection, of seeing God in this flesh, but from the present contempt of all earthly pain and ill which his divine mistress, 'the perfect solace of wearied souls,' has taught him."

In estimating the degree of weight to be attached to the work as evidence of the inner religious convictions of Boethius, we have to consider, not merely its contents, but the conditions under which it was written. It would be difficult, though not, it may be, impossible, to conceive of a sincere Christian, under any circumstances short of actual constraint, inditing such a work, not as an account of the conclusions of others, but as a confession of his own faith; and this is plainly what Boethius does in the *Consolatio*, in which there is hardly a page—to be guilty of an anachronism—without its '*credo*.' But to us, at least, it is inconceivable that any sincere Christian, with the fear of a violent death before his eyes, and in the absence of all constraint, should not merely record such a confession of faith in his own hand, but find in it an all-sufficient consolation.

So strongly has this been felt by the majority of the champions of Boethius' Christianity, that, while one of them has gone so far as to reject the authenticity of the *De Consolatione*, several others have maintained that it is unfinished, and that the part we possess was intended to be nothing more than a prelude to a further book or books, in which the more effectual consolations of the Christian faith were to be contrasted with what had gone before.

Apart from the fact that the internal evidence in favour of the authenticity of the work is overwhelming, and that it was never questioned by the earlier writers, the first of these theories is open to the objection that, if the work is not genuine, it must, from the nature of its contents, have been a deliberate forgery, and that, in view of the fact that Boethius was generally reputed to be a Christian, it is difficult to believe that the author of such a forgery would have courted discomfiture by fathering on him so obviously anti-Christian a work. The only motive, indeed, that could well be imagined for his adopting such a course would be a desire to discredit Christianity, by making it appear that so illustrious and learned a man had declared against it. But the probability of any one with the qualifications which the *De Consolatione* discloses being influenced by such a motive at the time at which, if a forgery, it must have been written, seems infinitesimal. As to the second theory, it is absolutely incompatible, not only with the whole tone of the work, but with its structure,

The theory of Baur, that the *De Consolatione* is to be regarded rather as a defence by Boethius of his life-long labours in the cause of philosophy, is ingenious, but seems equally inconsistent with the tone of the work, in which the writer's assent to the doctrines laid down is repeatedly affirmed.

Still less can we accept Mr. Stewart's own view that the *De Consolatione* is to be looked upon in the light of "prolusions"—as a diversion, in fact, from the melancholy of the writer's state—rather than as a serious composition. Referring, on the one hand, to the views of those who would cut the knot by rejecting the authority of the Tractates, and, on the other, to those who regard the *De Consolatione* as a declaration of the writer's withdrawal from Christianity, he says: "There seems to me to be an alternative explanation at once simpler and more in accord with common experience. The 'Consolation' is intensely artificial. Every page of it smells of the lamp. The verses in it have the smoothness and polish of marble, but they have also its coldness. Here is nothing that suggests a heart beating itself out against the bars of its prison. The prose, though it sometimes rises to a certain height of passion, often stiffens into the dull formality of a logical treatise. So, too, many of the themes elaborated, the tricks of fortune, the misery of the wicked, and the like, are hardly of a kind to lead one to look on the work as a definite statement of ultimate religious convictions. There is really little depth of argument in the earlier books, and the later ones are in the main rather speculative than devout.

"Bearing all this in mind, let us now see what Boethius was doing when philosophy entered to him. He was writing poetry to pass the time and ease his pain. This, to my thinking, gives the clue to the motive of the 'Consolation.' The gloom and silence of the dungeon, the terrible consciousness of desertion by his friends, the enforced idleness, would have driven any ordinary man mad, much more one of Boethius' vast mental activity and insatiate appetite for work. He tries verse-writing, but finds that it does him more harm than good, leaving him exhausted and unstrung; his present excited mood is not the one for theology; a philosophical dialogue with occasional interludes of song shall be his diversion, and help him to bear the ghastly companionship of his own thoughts. Whenever his bitterness overmasters him and he is giving way to the sense of his wrongs, he can call in a physician who will enable him to pause and look dispassionately on the uncertainty of human wishes and his miserable state; who will brace his faculties, and perhaps recover for him something of his ancient skill in reasoning."

Our objection to this view is two-fold. First, it is exceed-

ingly difficult to believe that a sincere Christian would find such a mode of whiling away his prison hours reconcilable with his conscience. In the second place we differ emphatically from Mr. Stewart's estimate of the degree of feeling displayed in the *De Consolatione*. It seems to us that, far from being cold as marble, the verses, in spite of their smoothness, are not at all devoid of passion, while the prose, though, from the nature of the subject, it is often dull and formal, abounds in evidence of deep feeling. The tone is certainly nowhere that of a man who is trifling with the truth for the sake of beguiling hours any of which may be his last.

Before we state our own conclusion, a word must be said regarding the Tractates and their contents. First, as to the question of their authenticity. Though the external evidence on the point is by no means conclusive, we see no valid reason for absolutely rejecting that of any but the *De Fide*, and no serious reason for doubting that of any of the remaining four, except but the Book against Eutyches and Nestorius.

It seems to us, to begin with, that the internal evidence for a common authorship of the *De Consolatione* and at least three of the Tractates, the *De Trinitate* and the two letters to John the Deacon, which are all clearly by the same hand—is overwhelming. Not only, in spite of certain peculiarities, does the style of the Tractates resemble that of the 'Consolation' in most important points, but what is more conclusive, the mode of thought, which is in some respects distinctive, is the same in all four works. A noteworthy instance of the latter feature is the writer's treatment of the nature of eternity as an attribute of Deity in Lib. V, Cap. 6 of the '*De Consolatione*' and Cap. IV of the *De Trinitate*. "God," says Boethius, in the former work, "is eternal; in this judgment all rational beings agree. Let us, then, consider what eternity is. For this word carries with it a revelation alike of the Divine nature and of the Divine knowledge. Now, eternity is the possession of endless life whole and perfect at a single moment. What this is, becomes more clear and manifest from a comparison with things temporal. For whatever lives in time is a present proceeding from the past to the future, and there is nothing set in time which can embrace the whole space of its life together. To-morrow's state it grasps not yet, while it has already lost yesterday's; nay even in the life of to-day ye live no longer than one brief transitory moment. Whatever, therefore, is subject to the condition of time, although, as Aristotle deemed of the world, it never have either beginning or end, and its life be stretched to the whole extent of time's infinity, it yet is not such as rightly to be thought eternal.

For it does not include and embrace the whole space of infinite life at once, but has no present hold on things to come, not yet accomplished. Accordingly, that which includes and possesses the whole fulness of unending life at once, from which nothing future is absent, from which nothing past has escaped, this is rightly called eternal; this must of necessity be ever present to itself in full self-possession, and hold the infinity of movable time in an abiding present. Wherefore they deem not rightly who imagine that on Plato's principles the created world is made co-eternal with the Creator, because they are told that he believed the world to have had no beginning in time, and to be destined never to come to an end. For it is one thing for existence to be endlessly prolonged, which was what Plato ascribed to the world, another for the whole of an endless life to be embraced in the present, which is manifestly a property peculiar to the Divine mind. Nor need God appear earlier in mere duration of time to created things, but only prior in the unique simplicity of His nature. For the infinite progression of things in time copies this immediate existence in the present of the changeless life, and when it cannot succeed in equalling it, declines from movelessness into motion, and falls away from the simplicity of a perpetual present to the infinite duration of the future and the past; and since it cannot possess the whole fulness of its life together, for the very reason that in a manner it never ceases to be, it seems, up to a certain point, to rival that which it cannot complete and express by attaching itself indifferently to any present moment of time, however swift and brief; and since this bears some resemblance to that ever-abiding present, it bestows on everything to which it is assigned the semblance of existence. But since it cannot abide, it hurries along the infinite path of time, and the result has been that it continues by ceaseless movement the life the completeness of which it could not embrace while it stood still. So, if we are minded to give things their right names, we shall follow Plato in saying that God indeed is eternal, but the world everlasting.

Precisely the same idea is repeated in the *De Trinitate*, the writer of which, to quote Mr. Stewart's analysis, argues: "Time and Place are not real attributes, and cannot be predicated of God at all. Whereas we can say of a man that he came yesterday, of God we must declare that He is, and is always. The former is an accidental predicate; the latter signifies existence in the past, in the present and in the future. This is equally applicable, so say the philosophers, to the stars and other immortal bodies. But in connexion with God this 'always' expresses a present quite different from the

'now' of temporal things. Earthly time is fleeting and enduring for a little while; divine eternity is permanent and immoveable. So, too, the category of place is no real attribute. True, we can say of a man that he is in the market; but that is an accidental and not a real attribute, like 'white' or 'long.' Now God is not in any place, but all places are present to Him. The other accidentals do not concern Him in any way."

"In the case of the Book against Eutyches and Nestorius the internal evidence of a common authorship with the *De Consolatione* is much less strong. Indeed, not only the tone, but, in many respects the style, of this Tractate contrasts sharply with that of the other Tractates and the 'Consolation.'

The only external evidence to Boethius' authorship of this work that possesses any claim to be regarded as contemporary is the *Anecdoton Holderi*. This would be conclusive if the curious fragment so called could be attributed with any certainty to Cassiodorus. So far, however, from holding, with Usener, that the *Anecdoton* is conclusive, we cannot, for reasons into which it is impossible to enter here, go even so far as Mr. Stewart and think that it possesses "great value as contributing evidence." On the contrary, the language of the fragment seems to us absolutely conclusive against its being the composition of Cassiodorus at all, or its having been written, as Usener would have us believe, about 522 A. D., a date at which the author of it could not possibly have written of either Symmachus or Boethius, as he does of both, in the past perfect tense, *vid.* "Boethius dignitatibus summis excelluit, utraq̃ue linguā peritissimus orator *fuit*," for both were still alive.

On the whole we think the authorship of this Tractate must be considered doubtful.

As to the matter of the Tractates, a very brief description will suffice. The "*De Trinitate*" is, in substance, a refutation of the Arian heresy, and a defence of what, in the first Chapter, the writer states to be the Catholic Faith on the Holy Trinity, *viz.*, that "the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; so that father, Son and Holy Ghost are one God and not three Gods." The defence consists in showing that the dogma is compatible with reason and with the Aristotelian logic.

In the letter to John the Deacon on the question "*Utrum Pater et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus de Divinitate substantialiter prædicentur*," the writer adheres strictly to the lines of St. Augustine. His argument, as summarised by Stewart, is: "No one will deny that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, taken separately, are substances; but if we take them all

three together, we get not three substances, but one. This unity of the Divine Substance cannot be split up or divided in any way. Now it is not the union of three parts making up a whole, it is simply one. Everything that can be affirmed substantially of the Divinity as a whole may be affirmed of each of the persons composing that Divinity—*e.g.*, the predicate God. Now this predicate is a substantial predicate, and so are those others of truth, justice, incommutability, wisdom, goodness, power and all such as can be applied to each of the persons separately. Those predicates, on the other hand, which can be affirmed of the individual persons but not of the Collective Divinity, cannot be called substantial (*e.g.*, the term Father cannot be affirmed of the Son nor of the Holy Ghost, and so *mutatis mutandis*). They are rather relative terms; for the Father must be some one's father, the son some one's son, and the Holy Spirit some one's spirit. Similarly, the Trinity cannot be substantially predicated of the three persons, for neither Father nor Son nor Holy Ghost is Trinity, but the Trinity consists in the diversity of the persons, the Unity in the simplicity of the substance, and a term which takes its origin from persons cannot be applied to substance. Wherefore Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Trinity, are terms which can only be affirmed relatively of God."

The writer concludes, it should be added, with the following curious request: "I pray you let me know if all this be in keeping with the Faith; or, if you happen to hold a different view on any point, consider my words yet closer, and where you can *make faith join hands with reason*."

The letter on the essential goodness of substances is an attempt to prove, on "mathematical" lines, that all substances are good, not by essence, but by virtue of existence. Of the argument all that need be said is that there is nothing in it which bears upon the question of the writer's religion, the premises on which he relies being compatible with either answer to that question.

The *Liber Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*," as the title implies, is an attempt to prove the truth of the Catholic dogma that Christ combined two natures in one person, as against the view, on the one hand, of the Nestorians, which ascribed to Him two persons as well as two natures, and, on the other hand, of the monophysitic heresy of Eutyches, who ascribed to Him one nature only in one person.

Regarding the Tractate *De Trinitate* and the letter on a cognate subject, it is to be observed that there is nothing in them that can be said to amount to a confession of the writer's belief as to the actual facts. They are merely attempts to prove that the Catholic view is consistent with reason. The doubtful

Book against Eutyches and Nestorius, on the other hand, goes considerably further than this, and certainly implies, if it does not expressly affirm, the writer's belief in the truth of the Catholic view of the nature of Christ.

The conclusion to which the whole of the evidence, taken together, then, seems to us to point is that, at the time when the *De Consolatione* was written, Boethius was certainly not a Christian, while at the time when he wrote the Tractates he was something more than a mere professing, and something less than a thoroughly convinced, Christian. As far as he had made up his mind on the subject, it is only reasonable to infer from the Tractates that he was a believer in the truths of Christianity; but, even if the belief was not consciously provisional, he had not thoroughly made up his mind, and was hovering on the brink of unbelief. His perpetual appeals to reason, and not to revelation or authority, as the final arbiter, alone seems to show this. In such a view of his position at the earlier date, there is surely nothing improbable, or opposed to experience; on the contrary, it appears to us to be what might naturally be expected to be the position of a man of Boethius' temperament, tastes and intellectual bent. Immersed in the study of Greek philosophy, of which he was an ardent admirer; passionately given to logical hair-splitting, and metaphysical speculation, yet a candid seeker after truth, stability of opinion, in a matter so largely dependent on faith as the truth of Christian dogma, was hardly to be expected from him. The characteristic appeal to John the Deacon already quoted: "Where you can, make faith join hands with reason," is expressive of the feelings of a man who, whether he knew it or not, was already within sight of the parting of the ways.

We do not know the exact dates of the composition of the several Tractates; but it is certain that they must, one and all, have been written some years before the *De Consolatione*. We do not know for how long a time before the composition of the *De Consolatione* in his prison at Pavia, the state of Boethius' belief had been that which it discloses. So far from there being any such difficulty as Mr. Stewart finds in accounting for the change of front which Boethius must have made in the interval if the *De Consolatione* is accepted as a serious confession of faith, it seems to us that such a change of front might naturally have been looked for, by any one who knew the man and his pursuits, at any moment during that period.

In fine, the question "what was the religion of Boethius," is meaningless in this unconditioned form. It might as reasonably be asked, what was the religion of Rome, or of John Henry Newman. The known facts really raise, not one

question, but two questions—What was the religion of Boethius when he composed the *Tractates*? and, What was the religion of Boethius when he composed the *De Consolatione*? If the answers to these two questions differ, the fact is not surprising. Between the one date and the other much happened to Boethius. Nothing is more natural than that his belief regarding the truth of Christianity should also have changed.

ART. XI.—SATARA.

THIS historic city around which cluster the royal traditions of the Mahratta race, the stronghold of Shivaji Maharaj and his descendants, the capital of Maharashtra for a short while, and then yielding to Poona to become the prison of its Rajas, this city of Satara is situated in the heart of the Southern Mahratta country, amid the most pleasant surroundings, high hills on every side, and the fertile valleys of several rivers, among them the sacred Krishna, in the green plain between. It is reached by the new railway whose station near the village of Padali is ten miles from it, like most of its stations, the line having been laid as if purposely to avoid large centres of population like Wai, Satara, Karad, and others. Nor does the fault cease with the original construction; its administration is on a par with the wisdom of fighting shy of towns, and it is the least energetic and enterprising of railways in the country.

Those who really want to enjoy the beauties of this wild romantic country should give up the railway altogether and travel by the well kept roads. Nothing is so enjoyable as a ride or drive from Poona to Wai, or from Mahableshwar to Satara. We all know Mr. Ruskin's views about railway travelling, and to those to whom time is not the all-important factor, but have leisure to look about them, they do not appear so eccentric after all. There are many indignant passages in it, but we can recall just now only one. "In the olden days of travelling, now to return no more, in which distance could not be vanquished without toil, but in which that toil was rewarded, partly by the power of deliberate survey of the countries through which the journey lay, and partly by the happiness of the evening hours, when from the top of the last hill he had surmounted, the traveller beheld the quiet village where he was to rest, scattered among the meadows besides its valley stream; or, from the long hoped for turn in the dusty perspective of the causeway, saw for the first time the towers of some fallen city, faint in the rays of the sunset—hours of peaceful and thoughtful pleasure, for which the rush of the arrival in the railway station is perhaps not always or to all men an equivalent,—in those days, when there was something more to be anticipated and remembered in the first aspect of each successive halting-place than a new arrangement of glass roofing and iron girder. . . ." Remembering this and hoping to enjoy leisurely the natural scenery of the country, we determined to reach Satara by road from Mahablesh-

war. We go down the southern spur of the hill between Babbington and Kate's Points, with the ever-diminishing hill side on our right, the valley of the Yenna on our left, and beyond it the Hatgegad-Arle range to the east. At Kelgar, twelve miles from Frere Hall, Malcompett, we finish the descent of Mahableshwar, and, proceeding along a beautiful undulating plain to Medha, crossing several rivulets and two rivers, the Kulshi and Yenna, we arrive midway. Thence the road wings to Kenjal and Kanher, and, climbing the khind between the hills of Mehruling and Yavteshwar, enters the Satara plain. The groves of the city and the high fort overshadowing it become plainly visible, and are reached in a short time. The road from Wai and Poona strikes into our road a couple of miles from the city.

This journey of thirty-three miles is accomplished in about five hours, and is well worth taking, if for nothing else, at least for the picturesque views of the hills to be obtained at every turn. Travelling along this wild, mountainous country has always most forcibly made me ask the question—where are the poets that such an environment should produce? For here, if anywhere, should the poetic faculty abound, and we can well say.

Maharashtra wild
Meet nurse for a poetic child.

There were some good poets here formerly, Tookaram and Namdev especially. But where are their descendants now? Their mantle is fluttering in the air covering no one's shoulders. Is it true that the progress of civilization is killing poetry? Or, perhaps, is it politics that has driven poetry, history, and many other things from the mind of the noble Maharatta race.

The city of Satara is nestled on the slopes of the Ajimtara and Yavteshwar hills on the south and west, which sides are thus defended and commanded by them. The latter is 1,100 feet above the plain, with a flat plateau which could very well be fortified, but has never been. The former hill is the famous Satara fort called Ajimtara after Aurangzib's son, who took it in 1,700. It is 1,200 feet above the plain and about 3,300 above the sea. It is also flat and triangular in shape, the side being steep and rugged. It is one of the most famous and oldest of the Deccan forts having been built in 1190 by the Kolhapore Silhara Chief, Bhoj II. Later it came into the possession of the Bahmani Kings, who rebuilt it. After their fall it passed to the Kingdom of Bijapur, whose state prison it was for a long time. One of its prisoners was the famous Chand Bibi, widow of Adilshah I, who was falsely accused by the Minister, Kishwar Khan and sent here for a while. Those who have read Meadows Taylor's "A Noble Queen," know well the heroic

and emphatically manly exploits of this extraordinary woman, who well deserves a good monograph in English. During the last years of the Bijapur Kingdom Satara was taken by the new power of Shivaji, then just risen, in 1673. When Aurangzib determined to crush the Mahrattas, he strained every nerve to take Satara and besieged it in great force in 1700. After a desperate attack and prolonged resistance it surrendered to Azam Tara, Aurangzib's son, after whom it was called. But it fell again into the hands of the Mahrattas six years later. It was the seat of Shavaji's descendants, who reigned here nominally, while the Peishwa was the real ruler at Poona. It was taken by the English in 1818, on the general downfall of the Mahratta power after the battles of Kirkee and Ashti. The old Raja was set up again, but his line came to an end thirty years later in default of an heir, and the dominions lapsed to the Paramount Power.

The top of the fort commands a splendid panorama of the whole country around, and exceeds in grandeur and beauty the views from many other hill tops in these parts. From the western bastion appears the high range of the Bamnoli-Gheradategad Hills, which runs parallel to the main line of the Sahyadris, with the Koyna flowing between. Near to us and a little lower are the Keivali-Sonpur hills, whose most marked peak is the Fort of Parli, or Sajjangad. In the north-west corner, on a low ridge which forms the connecting spur between this fort and the Yavteshwar Hill, is the green knoll of the Bazar, Pendachi Satvai, the temple of a goddess, underneath which is excavated a tunnel, or Bogde, as it is locally called, through which is led the great Kolhapore road, from the western end of the town. Lower than the Bamnoli Range are the Kumti hills, at whose foot is the traditional site of old Satara, which seems to have vanished entirely without leaving any trace behind, and nearer Yavteshwar the slopes of Parli, on whose triangular summit is the famous house and tomb, clearly discernible through a glass from here, of Ramdas Swami, the renowned and saintly preceptor of Shivaji, of whom we shall speak on another occasion. Between these high hills and Satara is the beautiful and fertile valley of the Urmodi, which, rising at Kas and after running a short course of 20 miles west, meets the Kriahna at Koparda. This valley is green with vegetation and studded with several villages, which appear from this height as thick groves. The most famous of these is Shahapur, almost in the centre of this green plain, called after Azam Shah, the son of Aurangzeb, whose army was encamped here in the great siege of 1700. To the right, in the corner between Parli and Satvai, are the villages of Jakhatwadi, Dabbhewadi, and Sondra Vechle; while to the left, below

Kumti, are Asangaon, Pillarri, and Karandi, all adding to the beauty of the scenery by their picturesque green appearance. From the southern bastion slopes away the spur of Malai to the opposite hills of Pateshwar, and on the crest of their edge is the Karoli Khindover, which passes the road to Kolhapore from the eastern end of the town, meeting the western road a little further, at Sangaon. In the hills of Pateshwar, appearing in front from here, are some of the oldest Buddhist caves in this part of the country; whilst below, in the plain, are the villages of Atit and Pal. Behind Pateshwar, in the distance, appear the famous fortresses of Machhindragad, and Vasantgad, rearing their conical heads against the southern horizon.

From the eastern side are seen the distant Mahadeo Hills, and a little nearer, their two large fortified peaks of Mahimangad and Vardangad, which form a prominent feature, looming large on the horizon. Between these hills and Satara, flows the sacred Krishna, which receives on its left the Yenna, flowing from Mahableshwar, at the hallowed spot of Sangam Mahuli, beautified by several exquisite temples, and ghauts, visible from here. Over the Krishna, at Mahuli, passes the thick green line of the road to Pandarpur. The valley and plain of the Krishna is also fertile and well-wooded, and several of its towns and villages can be seen from here—notably Koregaon, Rahimatpur, and Targaon, all on the railway line. From the northern bastion we have a birds-eye view of the whole city, which lies at our feet, nestled among trees and forming a vast grove. The various streets running paral-
 lel to one another, can be easily distinguished, especially the Pratapganj Peth, running from north to south, and Bhavani Peth from east to west. To the left, in the north-west corner, is the neighbouring and sister hill of Yavteshwar, with its flat top, and the pointed peak of Sambharwada. Next to it is the hill of Merul-
 ing, between which and Yavteshwar passes the road to Medha, Kelgar, and Mahableshwar. At the foot of Yavteshwar, in the south, is the village of Mahajdra, while on the north is the village of Karanja, the site of Aurangzib's camp during the siege of 1,700, when his son was encamped on the west at Shahapur, as stated above. Here, too, the scene is bounded by a range of hills, not so high as the others, standing against the northern horizon, in the valley on the other side of which flows the Yenna past Bamnoli. The plain between these hills and the city is not so green and fertile as the valley of the Krishna to the east, or that of Urmodi to the west, nor are there so many villages. Through this plain passes the new Poona-
 road, which is carried on the top of the Nimb Khind, through the Yenna valley, past Surrool, to Wace and the country beyond,

and the valley of the Nira. To the right, in the north-east corner, are a group of hills of which the most prominent are Chandan, Vandan, and Jarondeshwar on either side, with the fort of Nandgiri in the middle. In that part is seen the old Poona-road, leading by the Salpi Pass through Jejuri and parallel to the new railway. This railway line can be discerned through a glass from here skirting the hills and forming a loop. Between Jarondeshwar and the green park of the Satara camp, is the road leading to Padli where is the Satara-road station. Thus the panorama on all sides is completed and we descend from the fort to the city.

R. P. KARKARIA.

ART. XII.—THE RAJASTHANIK COURT AND PROGRESS IN KATHIAWAR.

THE RAJASTHANIK Court, which is now being abolished, has been so intimately connected with the progress and development of the Kathiawar Peninsula, that a brief reference to its origin and history will not be uninteresting at the present moment. This tribunal has played an important part in the pacification of the numerous Kathiawar Native States, and has materially contributed towards introducing order and respect for the Law, where anarchy and chaos formerly prevailed. In fact the period of its existence furnishes one of the most prominent landmarks in the history of the peaceful and progressive administration of the Kathiawar Peninsula.

The 187 Native States of this region constitute, as is known, a large Political Agency, which is one of the most important and responsible charges of the Bombay Government. Many of these Principalities are now in the fore-front of enlightened and well-governed Native States; matters were, however, very different when the British first made their appearance in Kathiawar in 1807, on the requisition of some of its minor Chieftains, who claimed protection against the Gaekwar of Baroda. A veritable state of anarchy then prevailed. Crimes were committed with impunity, and fines at the very worst were the only penalties imposed. Both the Mahratta Peishwa of Poona and the Gaekwar of Baroda collected the Revenue, and the latter periodically despatched an army, *MULK-GIRI* [*i.e.*, on tour round the country], collecting revenue and committing devastations in default of payment.

The various Rajput Chiefs who from time to time had established themselves, bestowed on their kinsmen and dependants portions of land, which they had conquered. These became hereditary grants. Land-owners aggrandized themselves at the expense of their neighbours; and, when they felt sufficiently powerful they rendered themselves independent. Others were obliged to surrender portions of their property to powerful Chieftains, who in return guaranteed them protection. Innumerable divisions of property followed with the usual disputes and dissensions; and the owners of such lands were known as *GRASSIAS*—from *GRAS*, signifying literally a mouthful, and, in a more extended sense, landed possession of the ruling class.

In 1807 the British Government was recognised by the Kathiawar Chiefs as the Paramount Power; and the British

authorities then endeavoured to introduce some sort of order. They fixed the tribute which the various land-owners had to pay. Some were recognised as independent chiefs, while others were classed as dependent; and this arrangement prevails more or less to the present day. Moreover, the Gaekwar of Baroda was induced to forego sending an army to Kathiawar for the purpose of collecting revenue. In 1818 the British Government assumed the collections of revenue, which had hitherto been made for the Peishwa of Poona, who had finally been overthrown on that date; and two years later the Gaekwar of Baroda agreed to allow the British authorities to collect the tribute due to him and to make payment of it to him.

Even after the British Government became the Suzerain power among the Kathiawar Princes, there was little or no improvement. General disorder prevailed. Whenever a land-owner felt himself aggrieved against his immediate chief, he would go into voluntary outlawry—*BAHARVATIA*, as it was styled, from *Bahar*, outside, and *vat*, a road, implying a person acting improperly. Such out-laws would commit all sorts of depredations on the property of the subjects of the Chief against whom they were offended, and they would continue in their lawless course until they were run to earth, or until their grievances had been settled. As for disputes about property, several primitive Oriental methods prevailed. If a debt was due, the creditor would make over a portion of the debt to some powerful chieftain, who would take practical measures for coercing the recalcitrant debtor. At other times a creditor would sit in *dharna* at the door of his debtor and vow to fast till his claim had been satisfied; and in extreme cases would even starve himself to death. The debt, however, would usually be satisfied before any such untoward result had been brought about, with the attendant odium attaching to the debtor of having been the cause of his creditor's death. Another method of recovering debts was by means of *traga*, or self-wounding. A man of high-caste would make himself responsible for a debtor meeting his liabilities—in fact the latter would not as a rule be entrusted with a loan unless some high-caste man guaranteed its repayment. In case of default the guaranteeing high-caste man would threaten to wound or even to kill himself; and the debtor would pay up rather than incur the spiritual opprobrium of having caused injury to a high-caste man. Yet another favourite method of compelling re-payment of debts was known as *jhansa*. This plan involved the despatch of a threatening letter to the defaulting debtor, menacing him with the burning of his crops and property, if he did not make

payment—and the comminatory epistle would usually be attached to the door of the offending debtor. There were several other methods employed for coercing debtors, which were more or less equally crude.

As for criminal justice there was practically none. People were at times arbitrarily cast into prison; and it would appear that, during the famine of 1812, two unfortunate men were sentenced to death and executed, for having killed their cows and eaten them, in order to satisfy their hunger; fines however were the chief penalties imposed. In 1831 a Chief Criminal Court was established under the auspices of the British Government. A political Officer presided over the deliberations of this tribunal and was assisted by some Native Chiefs, who acted both as assessors and fellow judges. A great deal of good was effected by this Court; but the general confusion in civil matters continued. People would flock to the British Political Agent for redress of their grievances—real or supposed; and his camp, while on circuit, would always be besieged by a horde of would be litigants.

At last this state of affairs became so intolerable, that the Bombay Government determined to put a stop to it by introducing some sort of political classification of the chiefs and defining their powers. The 187 States of Kathiawar were accordingly, in 1863, arranged in seven classes, and their chieftains were given varying jurisdiction, the highest having full powers. Disputants about land were referred to their respective Chiefs; but the results were most unsatisfactory; and the necessity for some special tribunal which could deal with these land-disputes, became apparent. In 1873, accordingly, the Rajasthanik Court was called into existence, in order to deal with these special forms of land disputes, which were so productive of disorder and violence. This Court was constituted with the consent of the various Chieftains concerned, who undertook to pay the cost of its up-keep. Representatives of the principal local Native States sat in the Court, which was presided over by a British Officer; and disputes between the Chiefs, and *Grassias* of various sorts were decided by it. A survey of the various *Grassias* Estates in dispute was undertaken under the direction of the Rajasthanik Court; and final awards were given as between the Chiefs on the one hand and the *Grassias* on the other, every species of obligation on both sides being considered. Aggrieved parties now began to look to Rajasthanik Court for the settlement of their claims, and did not, as of yore, take the law into their own hands, and resort to the violence and lawlessness,—and thus order was eventually introduced into the land administration of the Kathiawar Peninsula.

The Rajasthanik Court was originally constituted for the period of three years ; but, on the expiry of this term in 1876, the existence of the tribunal was prolonged for a further period of five years, at the express desire of the Chiefs and others concerned. On the expiry of this extension in 1881 it was decided to give the Court another lease of life till 1884 ; and ever since it has been found necessary to continue the operations of the tribunal. Latterly its existence has been prolonged from year to year ; but as the object for which it was created, has now been practically fulfilled, its career is being definitely closed.

During the quarter of a century of its activity, the Rajasthanik Court has rendered great and inestimable service in evolving peace and order in the Kathiawar Peninsula. It has proved beneficial both to the local chieftains and to the *Grassias* ; and has so much improved their mutual relations that, instead of being at feud with each other, as they formerly were, they live on terms of comparative amity ; so much so, that some of the Chiefs have even opened schools for the special benefit of the *Grassias*, whom but a short while ago they regarded as their natural opponents in matters relating to land claims. Under these circumstances the Rajasthanik Court may well be considered to have been a veritable boon, and services it has rendered will long be remembered in the Kathiawar Peninsula.

THE QUARTER.

As far as general politics are concerned, the most noteworthy feature of the period covered by our present prospect is the marked improvement that appears to have taken place in international relations. The significance of this apparent improvement, too, is the greater, that it has manifested itself, not in the mere absence of occasions of dispute, but in the composition of differences, some of them sufficiently grave; that had actually arisen. Coming so soon after the Fashoda incident, it might have been expected that the Muscat imbroglio would have found France in more than usually irritable mood. Not only, however, does she appear to have accepted the position, as finally interpreted by Lord Salisbury, with equanimity, but she has seized the occasion to dwell with satisfaction on the favourable progress of the negotiations pending between the two Powers regarding their respective rights on the Upper Nile and elsewhere in Africa. Russia, again, after renewing her protest against the Newchang railway loan and threatening the Chinese with all manner of pains and penalties, has suddenly waived her objections to the contract, under circumstances that have not transpired. Hardly less significant is the acquiescence of France in the efforts that are being made by Italy to obtain a lease of Sunmun Bay from China; while the German Emperor's reception of Mr. Cecil Rhodes bears eloquent testimony to the remarkable change that has lately come over the Kaiser's feelings towards England, a change which, no doubt, has something to do with the complacent attitude of the other Powers. The only note of discord is the breakdown of the Anglo-American Commission for the adjustment of matters in dispute between the two Powers in North America. But this, however disappointing in view of recent effusive professions, is of minor importance as far as the peace of the world is concerned.

The actual upshot of the Muscat affair referred to above is involved in some obscurity, the French Government, through its Foreign Minister, declaring that England has apologised for action taken by her "local agents" in excess of their instructions, while Mr. Brodrick, in the House of Commons, denies that the Government has expressed disapproval of the action of the British Agent. The facts of the case appear to be that, while, under the Treaty of 1891 with the Sultan of Oman, that ruler is debarred from alienating territory without the

the consent of England, France and England are mutually bound by an earlier treaty to respect his independence. Consequently, as long as the latter treaty is undenounced, England has no right to prevent him from permitting France to establish a coaling depôt in his territories, provided that no portion of them is alienated for the purpose. The probability seems to be that, in the action taken at Muscat, the latter fact was overlooked, and that some sort of regret has been expressed for the mistake. But it appears to be admitted that, whatever was done or left undone, the British Agent acted under instructions from the Foreign Office.

The death of M. Faure, the President of the French Republic, followed by the election of M. Loubet in his place, seemed likely at one time to give rise to serious trouble in Paris where M. Loubet is suspected of being less strongly anti-Dreyfusite than his predecessor. Indeed, there were those who prophesied an attempt, supported by the army, to upset the existing régime. But beyond certain hostile demonstrations of an altogether insignificant character, resulting in the arrest of one or two firebrands, nothing untoward has happened; the Government seems to be acting with firmness, and the excitement has quieted down. Either the army is not yet ripe for a revolution, or it prefers to await the result of the Dreyfus revision, which, on the recommendation of the Court of Enquiry appointed to enquire into M. Beaurepaire's charges, and in spite of an unfavourable report of the Committee on the Bill brought in by the Government for the purpose, has been removed from the Criminal Section of the Court of Cassation to the united sections of the Court. Seeing that the Court of Enquiry, in their report, completely vindicated the Criminal Section from the suspicion cast by M. Beaurepaire on their impartiality, this is generally regarded as an act of weakness on the part of the Government. There is a certain amount of reason for this feeling. At the same time, it must be remembered that the matter possesses another aspect, *viz.*, that the fact of the course adopted having been instigated by them, will make it the more difficult for the Anti-Dreyfusites to challenge the ultimate decision. Indeed, it seems open to question whether, from this point of view, they have not been guilty of a tactical blunder in agitating for the transfer of the case.

The Americans in Manila are encountering a much more obstinate resistance than they anticipated, and fierce fighting still continues there, though the Philippinos have apparently been defeated with heavy loss on every occasion of importance. In the meantime the American Senate has passed a Resolution to the effect that the United States has not annexed the Philippines, but will protect and govern the people till

they can govern themselves, when it will retire on such terms as may suit the interests of both countries.

The last, it seems, has not yet been heard of the Mahdi, who is said to be advancing upon Omdurman, from his retreat in Kordofan, with a considerable force. The Anglo-Egyptian authorities, however, seem to think the garrison there sufficient for the emergency, the importance of which has probably been exaggerated.

In English politics the most important events have been a serious development of the agitation against ritualistic practices in the Church; the appointment of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to the leadership of the Liberal party, and the introduction of the London Government Bill by Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons. The general purpose of the London Government Bill is the division of the Metropolis without the City into a number of separate Municipalities with the control of purely local affairs, as distinguished from those of a more general nature, which will continue to be managed by the London County Council, a change which will probably be popular with the middle-classes. The Government has also introduced a Bill to carry out certain of the recommendations of the recent Committee on Money-lending. The main provisions of this Bill require that all professional money-lenders should be registered, and that the terms of contracts between lenders and borrowers should be set out in writing; and empower the Court to go behind the contract and relieve the borrower in all cases of unconscionable bargain in which the interest charged is not less than ten per cent. per annum. A professional money-lender is defined as any one who carries on the business of money-lending, or advertises or announces himself as carrying on that business, and who is not a pawnbroker, or banker, or other person, carrying on a commercial or general financial business in the course of which he lends money, a definition which seems to open so wide a door for evasion as to make it improbable that the Bill will produce much effect.

A debate on the Calcutta Municipal Bill has taken place in the House of Commons on a motion of Mr. Roberts, which was ultimately withdrawn, expressing grave concern at the introduction of the Bill, and asking that its further consideration should be postponed pending investigation by a duly constituted Commission. In the course of the debate, Sir Henry Fowler spoke strongly against the Bill, denying that local government in Calcutta had failed, or that anything had been brought forward justifying the change proposed. Lord George Hamilton defended the Bill in a somewhat weak speech, but gave an assurance that it would be viewed impartially by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

The Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament was somewhat less colourless than usual, and ran as follows :—

" My relation with other Powers continue to be friendly.

" The expedition against the Dervishes, conducted with brilliant ability by Sir Herbert Kitchener and the officers serving under him, has resulted in the fall of Omdurman and complete subjugation of the territories which had been brought under the dominion of the Khalfah. I am proud to acknowledge the distinguished bravery and conduct of the British and Egyptian troops, who have won this victory. My officers are engaged in conjunction with those of His Highness the Khedive in the establishment of order in the conquered provinces.

" The Powers, who have been in the occupation of Crete, have delegated the authority necessary for the Government of the island to His Royal Highness Prince George of Greece. The restoration of peace and order resulting from the establishment of His Royal Highness's Government has been gladly welcomed by the Cretans of both religions.

" His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia has summoned a conference to consider the possibility of limiting the vast armaments which impose so heavy a burden on every nation. I have gladly signified my willingness to take part in its deliberations.

" A profound impression has been created by the appalling crime which has robbed the people of Austria-Hungary of their beloved Empress.

" A Conference at which my delegates were present was summoned at Rome to consider the dangers of anarchist conspiracy. Though I was not able to concur in all the resolutions proposed at the Conference some amendments in the present laws of the realm upon this subject appear to be required, and will be submitted for your consideration.

" Some of my West Indian Colonies have been visited by a hurricane of extraordinary violence, causing loss of life and great destruction of houses and other property. The consequent distress of the poorer inhabitants was promptly relieved as far as possible by the strenuous exertions of the local authorities, aided by contributions of money from other colonies and from the United Kingdom.

" I have learned with great satisfaction that the Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope has recognized the principle of common responsibility for the naval defence of my Empire, by providing for a permanent annual contribution towards that object.

" In parts of my Indian Empire I grieve to say that plague still continues, and though it has diminished in some districts previously affected, it has spread in fresh places in Southern and Northern India. Unremitting efforts continue to be made to relieve the sufferers from the disease, to check its spread in India, and to prevent its transmission to other lands. I am glad to be able to inform you that the harvests of the past year have been abundant, and that the trade and revenue of the country have recovered with a rapidity and completeness that has surpassed all expectation."

The Speech then announced the coming legislation in the Government of London, secondary education, and other minor matters."

In the course of the debate that followed the usual motion in the House of Commons, Mr. Brodrick made an important statement, to the effect that the agreement with Germany had greatly confirmed our friendly relations with that Power, and that its object was to secure them in future from any possible conflict of opinion.

In India the most important events of the period under review have been the change of Viceroys ; the recrudescence of the plague in almost every part of the country in which it had previously obtained a footing ; the further assassinations and attempted assassinations at Poona, resulting in the arrest and conviction of the remaining ringleaders of the gang of conspirators concerned in the murders of last year ; and the submission of the Annual Budget by Sir James Westland on the 20th instant.

Lord Curzon's reception in Calcutta, where he arrived on the 3rd January, was marked by an enthusiasm which has certainly not been surpassed on any previous similar occasion. Of his policy it would be premature at present to speak ; but, so far as can be gathered from his public utterances, which have produced a very favourable effect, especially upon the Native community, it promises, if events give him a fair chance, to be distinguished at once by breadth and circumspection. His indefatigable activity is the marvel of all.

The Plague, sad to say, has broken out with renewed virulence in Bombay, where the mortality from it has lately exceeded that of any period since its first appearance there, and has assumed an epidemic form in Calcutta, where the number of ascertained cases has risen gradually in the course of the last five weeks to between twenty and thirty a day. In Kurrachee and the Punjab the recrudescence has been equally marked, and a severe epidemic of the disease has broken out at the Kolar Gold Mines in Mysore ; but in the Madras Presidency its progress seems, for the time being, to have been arrested. The course of the disease in Bombay has signally falsified the belief in the business community that the third year would be seen itself as carrying off the malady. This belief, it may, however, be not so sound as it seems, so far as it has any foundation at all, to be based mainly on the experience of places in which the disease has raged with such violence in the first or second year as to carry off a third or more of the population, under which circumstances it is not difficult to understand its dying out for lack of the right kind of pabulum.

In Calcutta the attitude of the population has, this year, been so far unexpectedly apathetic, following that of the authorities, which, owing partly to the hopeless insufficiency—numerically—of the special medical staff, and partly, it may be, to dread of a repetition of last year's experiences, seems to be one of almost utter helplessness.

The events in Poona furnish a startling illustration of the truth of the maxim, *quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*. Or it may be that the culprits now under sentence of death or transportation deliberately preferred revenge to safety.

The Municipal Act Amendment Bill, which continues to be the subject of much bitter agitation among the Hindoo community, is still in the hands of the Select Committee. Certain concessions have been made to native opinion in matters of detail; but it is understood that the Local Government is determined to adhere to the principal features of the measure. It must, however, be obvious to any one who has followed the discussion on the Bill that, if the cardinal principle embodied in it is maintained, as, in all probability, it will be, the constitution of the proposed General Committee must be materially modified if it is to command the approval of impartial critics.

The business in the Imperial Legislative Council has been mainly of a non-contentious character, and includes, besides the passing of the Indian Contract Act, the Arbitration Act, the Court Fees Act, the Stamp Act, and other minor measures, the introduction of an important Bill to empower the Government of India to impose upon foreign sugar, in addition to the ordinary tariff, a duty equal to the amount of any bounty granted on it by a foreign nation.

The Financial Statement presented by Sir James Westland at to-day's Meeting of the Viceregal Legislative Council is, thanks to favourable seasons and improved trade, a more than usually satisfactory document of its kind, the Revised Estimates for the current official year working out to a surplus of Rx. 4,760,000, and the Budget Estimates for 1895-96 to a surplus of Rx. 3,930,000, the aggregate of the two surpluses, actual and anticipated, considerably exceeding the aggregate of the two preceding deficits, due to famine and other calamities. The anticipated surplus of the coming year is, however, subject to a reduction of Rs. 1,000,000, the Government of India having made special grants, to their resources, to the impoverished Local Governments, amounting to that figure.

On the other hand, the anticipated surplus of the coming year is arrived at on the basis of an exchange of $15\frac{3}{4}d.$, which is a farthing under the average realised in the current year and is almost certain to be exceeded. Considerable improvements, even on the revised estimates of the current year, are looked for in Opium and Railway receipts; but under most other heads the receipts of the coming year are taken below those of the current year, and a large sum—Rx. 560,000,—is provided for plague expenditure.

The Famine Insurance Grant is again taken at Rx. 1,500,000 and Rx. 8,822,700 is provided for railway construction, more than two crores of that amount, however, representing the unexpended balance of the sum allotted for the current year.

The large sum drawn by the Secretary of State during the current year has enabled him to pay off £1,500,000 of temporary debt in London; and, out of a total requirement of £18,487,100, he proposes to meet £1,487,100 from his cash balances, leaving £17,000,000 to be provided by the sale of Council Bills. No loan is contemplated during the coming year, and no remission of taxation, the Government desiring first to cover the deficits of the past two years and to place itself in a strong position in view of the possible exigencies of currency reform.

The Obituary for the period under review includes the names of Prince Alfred of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; President Faure; Princess Marie Louise of Bulgaria; Professor Kanthack; the Duke of Northumberland; Lieut. General Sir H. E. Weare, K. O. B., Sir James Mouatt, K. C. B., V. C.; Nubar Pasha; General Sir John Gordon, C.B.; Brigade Surgeon Lieut.-Col. R. Pringle, M.D.; Mr. Thomas Spinks, Q.C.; Earl Poulett; Professor Alleyne Nicholson; Admiral Sir John Hay; Sir Francis Clare Ford, G.C.B., G. C. M. G.; Mr. Henry Bates; General J. C. Brooke; Count von Caprivi; Mr. William Laird; Major-General W. R. E. Alexander; Fran Joachim; Major-General W. H. Smith; Lord Justice Chitty; Mr. Henry Jones, the Dramatist; Prince Charles Napoleon Bonaparte; Mrs. Marshman, widow of Mr. John Clark Marshman C. S. I.; Sir George Bowen; Lieut.-General Sir C. E. Nairne, K. C. B.; Sir Louis Kershaw; Lieut.-Col. Robert F. H. MacGregor; Sir R. Lambert Playfair; Baron Renter; Lord Herschell; Sir Douglas Galton, and Mr. A. Macdonald, late Editor of the *Englishman*.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Stories of Indian Christian Life. By SAMUEL SATTHIANADHAN, M.A., L.L.M., and KAMALA SATTHIANADHAN, B.A. Madras: Srinivasa, Varadachari & Co.

OF the twelve stories in this little volume six, we are told, are written by Samuel Saththianadhan and six by his wife. The reader will not get very far into the book without learning to distinguish between the two. The most striking feature of those written by Kamala Saththianadhan is the evidence of a praiseworthy attempt at word-painting which is rare among Indian writers, and in which she has at times succeeded admirably in conjuring up the scene of her little drama. The stories are exceedingly slight and their moral is not always very apparent, owing to the absence, in some of them, of retributive justice. In *The Story of A Temptation*, for instance, the lying and deceit of the heroine are passed over with a lightness which will probably seem shocking to the stern moralist. The English is, on the whole, remarkably good. That it should be quite free from solecisms and barbarisms was not to be expected. Among the latter the worst is the use of the word "slight," which is not to be found in any English dictionary and is a vulgarism of the worst description.

Legends of Kashmir : Being a Translation of the Sanskrit Works of Jyotiraja, Shrivara and of Prajyabhatta and Shuka. By JOGISH CHUNDER DUTT. Printed by S. K. Shaw and published by the Author, 1898.

THIS volume forms the third and last of a series of translations, by Baron Jogish Chander Dutt, of the leading Sanskrit authorities for the history of Kashmir, the most important of all of them, the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, having been dealt with in the first two volumes. Shuka's work, which is a continuation of that of Prajyabhatta and concludes the present volume, brings the history down to the days of Akbar, when Kashmir ceased to be an independent Kingdom. The translation appears to be well-done: but an index would be a great improvement to the work, the analytical table of contents which precedes the text giving no paging.

Judaism and Islām. A Prize Essay by ABRAHAM GEIGER, Rabbi at Wiesbaden. Translated from the German by a Member of the Ladies' League in Aid of the Delhi Mission. Madras : The M. D. C. S. P. C. K. Press, 1898.

THIS essay is devoted to an examination of the interesting question whether and to what extent Muhammad in the Kuran, borrowed from Jewish sources. The author sets out with showing that there were reasons why Muhammad should have desired to borrow from Judaism ; that he was in a position to be able so to borrow, and that it was compatible with his general plan to do so. He then goes on to show by comparison that he actually borrowed conceptions, views, doctrinal, moral, and legal, and stories. The evidence, in most cases, is of a kind which would be conclusive enough if the supposition of derivation from old Arabian sources were excluded ; but, in the absence of proof of this, it is far from convincing. Rabbi Geiger himself sees this difficulty ; but he appears to us to underrate its importance. He says :—

" In the case of any single instance of borrowing, the proof that the passage is really of Jewish origin must rest on two grounds. First, it must be shown to exist in Judaism, and, to prove this, we have every facility. Secondly, in order to attain to certainty we must prove that it is really borrowed, i.e., that it is not founded on anything in old Arabian tradition, which Muhammad used largely as a foundation, though he disputed some points. Then, again, we must show that it had its origin in Judaism and not in Christianity. For the complete discussion of the last two points it would be necessary to write two treatises similar to the one on which I am now engaged, of which the respective subjects would be—(1) points of contact between Islām and the ancient tradition of Arabs, and (2) the points of contact between Islām and Christianity. But these investigations would, on the one hand, lead us too far from our particular subject, and, on the other, they would require a much more exact treatment than could be given while handling our main subject. Then, too, they are made unnecessary by the means which we use in each individual case, and which will be shown in the different divisions of the work, so that on most points we can without them attain to a high degree of probability, practically sufficient for all scientific purposes."

We cannot admit that the probability attained is, in any but rare instances, " sufficient for all scientific purposes. Indeed, without a thorough examination of known Arabian sources, it is very difficult to form any estimate of the degree of probability attained.

The work is nevertheless full of interesting matter, and will well repay perusal.

The Adventures of Francois By S. W. ...
London: Macmillan & Co.

IN THE ADVENTURES OF FRANÇOIS.

Michell has given us a vivid picture of the last days of the French Revolution. The hero, who is by turns, thief, juggler and fencing master, according to the exigencies of the hour, has a career almost as remarkable as any lived during that stormy period of French history. He is continually dodging Death in some of the violent scenes in vogue, he is twice the means of saving a noble family from the guillotine, and that by accident rather than from any natural sympathy with the Aristocrats. Although he can never be brought to regard the practice of thieving in a proper light, or to take a strictly moral view of his youthful delinquencies, which he persists in regarding as incidental to a legitimate profession from which, like other professional men, he has retired, he ends his days in respectable service and dies peacefully in his bed. In spite of his dubious birth and the unfortunate circumstances of his chequered life, he is, on the whole, a fine character. He is possessed of a grand courage, a falling devotion where devotion is due, wit as nimble as his fingers and, above all, a lightness of heart and a cheerful philosophy which carry him on when most other men would have given up the unequal struggle with fate. "This Francois," says the narrator of the tale, "was what people call a character; he had a great heart and no conscience, was fond of flowers, birds and of children; pleased to chat of his pilferings, liking the fun of the astonishment he thus caused. Had he really no sense in its being wrong to steal? I do not know. The hero was so humorous that he sometimes left one puzzled and faint." There are many readers who will perfectly understand his difficulty in distinguishing between degrees of theft. There are even some who may hold that theft to save oneself from starvation is a virtue compared with some of the forms of crime practised in respectable society. The manner of Francois' death is in keeping with the traditions of his life. He takes to his bed in chagrin when a favourite parrot is taken from under his very nose as it were, the mortification being, not so much from his loss, as from the fact that so old a practised a thief should be out-witted by one of his own kind. "He died quietly a few days after, saying to the last who had given him the final rites of the Church: 'M. le Curé—the gold snuff-box the duke gave you.' "Well, my son, the left hand pocket is the safer, we look not there.'" The writer tells his story forcibly and well, and is evidently at home in the Slums of Paris as on the Boulevards, and he has him to present us with contrasts of character.

prevent the possibility which frequently arises in the case of la He. The first half of the book is as well as the third and is a continuation of the story of the "Opale d'Or" the old story of the Old and the New. In the first half, we are introduced to the gentle and refined woman of noble birth, Readers who are not interested in any fiction that does not deal exclusively with their own society to which they themselves belong, and who can consequently be interested in the story, will find the relation of the adventures not only very entertaining, but by no means devoid of pathos.

Ashes of Empire. By ROBERT W. CHAMBERS. London, Macmillan & Co.

ASHES OF EMPIRE, the scene of which is also laid in France, is a story of the downfall of the Second Empire and the Siege of Paris. The writer has taken full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the subject for sensational episodes. The interest centres round two pretty orphan girls and their respective lovers, both of whom are American war correspondents. The book abounds in passages descriptive of the investment of the city and the various sorties made by the Army of Paris which do credit to the author's knowledge of the place and attention to detail, but otherwise there is nothing to raise it above the level of the commonplace. There is, moreover, a sameness about the fortunes of the two heroines, and in the love making of the two men, which at times becomes a trifle wearisome, and the scene of Hilde's surrender is both foolish and unpleasant. It seems to us that to make her so foolish as to give colour to the vile insinuation levelled at her by the villains of the story, is a mistake in art. There is, however, much in the book which will prove extremely interesting to the uncritical reader who cares less for plot than for the grim details of battles, murder and starvation incident to a siege.

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